NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Standards for Councilmen?

MANY thoughtful people worry about the quality and performance of city councils and state legislatures. And well they might, for the injury done to confidence in our system of government by incompetent, irresponsible and venal members of such bodies is considerable.

Again and again it is proposed that high qualifications for candidates be established to keep undesirables out of legislative and councilmanic halls.

A usually clear-thinking local civic organization recently suggested that city councilmen should be *authorities* on state and municipal government and financial and tax problems.

A distinguished educator-author-soldier has made an extensive study to support his belief that "municipal, state and federal legislators should have a thorough knowledge of the social and political sciences—taxes, tariffs, labor laws, and management and industrial, constitutional and international laws, ancient and modern history, civics, economics, moral and legal ethics, and the humanities."

This kind of thinking is away off base. Councilmen and legislators could be better qualified, yes, but it would mean the end of our system if we forget that above all a representative must be *representative*—a fair sample of the people from whom he springs.

The people have to choose their representatives as best they can. No one could be so omniscient as to figure out specific educational and professional qualifications or the right kind of qualifying examination for candidates for a city council to insure both their competence *and* their *representativeness*.

It is possible, nevertheless, to set up some standards to help voters choose a high quality of councilmen without insisting that the choice be on the basis of expertness. It might just as logically be claimed that every school board member be able to administer the school system.

It would be good, for example, if the voters (who frequently do want to elect above-average candidates) were to prefer men who have demonstrated high competence in whatever private work they follow and, more important, an understanding of community and human problems.

Without being technicians in government, they should be able to form sound judgments concerning the competence of those who are. They should be devoted to honest, nonpartisan, non-patronage government; have the confidence of the community; be free from selfish influence or personal political ambition; be able and willing to devote enough attention to their duties as councilmen to develop a long-range view of community needs and problems.

There are other qualities which might be equally desirable.

But it's idle to say a set of qualifying standards can or should be set

up as they are for administrative or technical positions.

The only sound way to obtain trained technicians and administrators is to appoint them. The only sound and proper way to choose representative policy-forming bodies is to elect them, freely and without restrictions except those developed in the voters' minds.

As a distinguished political philosopher has so wisely and pungently put it, the expert should be on tap, not on top.

Dark Days for the Boss

FRANK HAGUE of Jersey City is no longer as blatantly confident as he used to be that he is "the law."

The last three governors of New Jersey have not been his men; in fact, they have been actively hostile to his philosophy. He no longer musters the top-heavy vote in his Hudson County that used to smother his opponents throughout the state. (Some are unkind enough to say the change from paper ballots to voting machines might have something to do with this). A board of assessment appeals appointed by former Governor Charles Edison has crippled the technique of using assessments for reward and punishment.

But the greatest shock came with the resounding defeat in last month's local election of his loyal henchman, Bernard McFeely, in nearby Hoboken, a one-mile square city of 50,000 people, 250 saloons and a place where occupants of key public jobs have had an unmistakable tendency to be named McFeely.

Small fry dictators, like their big shot heroes, have a tendency to overplay their hands; and Barney McFeely was a little late in discovering that popular apathy has its limits even in tightly controlled Hoboken.

The first step in the revolt came last fall, the people voting by a big margin for a genuine merit system when persecuted policemen had had enough. Then and during the winter the League of Women Voters and other lonesome independents began different to accept something new. if there seemed to be any place to go.

So, when the entire McFeely ticket was snowed under, Barney McFeely sighed, "It was the will of the people," and turned his attention to arranging fat pensions for McFeelys and McFeelyites.

It is too early to guess, where an entire generation has grown up in a heavily boss - tainted atmosphere, whether Hoboken will be able to rise to the opportunity provided by these two victories. The people have very clearly asked the new leadership for something different and better. But the commission form of government's inherent encouragement of log-rolling and machine-building throws a difficult hurdle in the way. The situation calls for a rare degree of local statesmanship and resistance to Hagueism.

In any event, Mr. Hague's tough hide has been dented once more and he may find it advisable, even with the strike settled, to dispense with the long-distance telephone from Florida in running Hudson County.

How to Break into Politics

High-minded citizens have many opportunities to serve parties and make them what they think they should be.

By CHARLES EDISON*

ALL Americans are proud of and devoted to that most fundamental of all civil rights—the right of free speech. The right to speak freely includes the right to criticize—the right to beef about the government is one of our inalienable liberties—but it goes only a little way toward making government by the people work. To let off all the steam we have does not make the engine go. The intelligent citizen really devoted to his country will want to do more than merely complain, object or denounce. He will want to take some personal part in the process of politics.

It is much easier to accomplish something in politics than most people think. The process is not remote, it begins right at home. It is as close as the precinct, or the township, or the school board. It touches us at every point—in the way we make our livings, educate our children, even where we bury our dead. It affects what we eat—as Woodrow Wilson said, even though you cannot taste the tariff in your sugar it is there just the same.

Indeed, there is nothing important that one can do in business or a profession that does not affect politics. Dean Upson of Wayne University once said: "Henry Ford successfully tinkering with the first carburetor on the first Ford car was also opening a Pandora's box of social questions—problems of street paving, congestion, city planning, policing, traffic control, street widening, rapid transit, parks and playgrounds, hospitals, traffic courts, poor relief, liquor control, probation, parole, prison management, all of which are as much a part of the automobile as are its engine, fenders and headlights." In lesser degree every one of us produces problems of politics.

The citizen who wants to do something in politics should first of all decide for himself what he wants his country, state or city to be—where he wants it to go. He may change his mind sometimes, but he will not be moving without some direction. No man can be effective in politics if he does not know what he wants to see government do or become.

Secondly, he ought to learn all he can about government, both through reading and experience. The freedom to criticize is a pretty empty freedom unless a man knows what he is talking about. The citizen who wants to make his citizenship effective will read more of his newspaper than just the sports, comics and business news. It is all right to keep up with the doings of

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Blondie and Lil' Abner if you like them, but you need to keep up with the city council too.

The citizen, indeed, should read as many newspapers as he can in order to get their differing points of view—and more, to get the news—because what is news to one editor is not always news to another. Most politicians are chain readers of newspapers. They follow the dailies as carefully as a stock broker follows the market. The citizen who would take part in politics can well emulate them. He will thus build up the information indispensable to politics and, seeing as he will what others are saying and doing, he can build up a body of vicarious experience. He can learn from the mistakes of others.

Newspapers, valuable as they are, still are things of the moment, and the intelligent citizen will want to go deeper, into books and magazines. He may want to learn about some problem of government such as taxation or the debt, or about some area of government such as cities or counties, or about the structure of government such as constitutions. The study of government is like the study of anything else—interest grows with knowledge. The deeper a person gets into the study of government the more he will realize how endlessly complicated it is. Thermodynamics is simple compared with the endless variety and infinite complexity of human conduct in its social and political aspects. Learning about government is a challenge to any man.

But no one needs to know everything at once. The citizen, while absorbing such knowledge as he can from reading, may take the third step and associate himself with others. He will not get far unless he does. Lowell Mellett, in his little *Handbook of Politics*[1]—which I recommend highly, said that being alone in politics is the most foolish thing you can be. It is. Politics is a gregarious occupation. The citizen seeking to make his ideals prevail must make them prevail upon somebody. He will need to know the people who are also interested in the same ideals as his.

Choosing a Party

We have in this country two great parties. Neither of them has a hard-and-fast creed; neither has a dogma once and for all dictated from on high. Rather, each will welcome any citizen. One practicing politician of my acquaintance compared his party to a circus tent—it was so big and broad, he said, that anybody could get under it. The Republican party has under its tent such very different Republicans as former Mayor LaGuardia and Herbert Hoover; the Democratic party such different Democrats as Claude Pepper and Harry Byrd.

Broad as they are the two parties are not exactly alike. At any given time most people can say which party they prefer. The determining factor may be the national or local party leadership, the positions of the parties on specific issues, or the voter's estimate of long-run differences in party traditions

[1]Penguin Books, Inc., New York, 138 pages.

and directions. Since the decision between the two major parties is not between extremes it must be made by weighing the relative importance of different considerations, including personal factors which may make the voter feel that he would be more happy or effective in one party than in the other.

Of course there is a small minority of citizens who prefer to affiliate with one of the minor parties. Such citizens are entitled to the satisfaction of knowing that minor parties have from time to time influenced the programs and policies of the major parties. This is especially true of the so-called "third parties," such as the Populist party of the 80's and 90's and Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose or Progressive party of 1912 and after.

Nonpartisan Groups

Finally, there are strictly local "nonpartisan" parties organized for the sole purpose of running candidates for local offices. In some places, as in South Orange, New Jersey, the national parties keep hands off local affairs, and Republicans and Democrats join in the local Citizens party. In Cincinnati, on the other hand, the Charter Committee, although composed of persons who are Republicans—as well as Democrats and independents—in state and national politics, runs candidates in opposition to those of the regular Republican organization. In cases like these it is possible for a person to be active in two parties, a local party and a national party.

When a citizen decides which party in his state or community most nearly represents his point of view, he will usually find it easy to associate himself with it. Any one can tell him who is the local leader, if there is one—the policeman on the corner, the clerk in the cigar store, any newspaper reporter. That leader may be a good man, or he may not be any good; but the citizen who wants to make his part in democracy count will get acquainted with him anyhow. He should also seek out and get acquainted with public officials. They may be good, or they may not be good; but a judgment based upon personal contact is infinitely better than one based upon mere rumor. By and large I think the citizen will find that the officers of his democracy are more capable and more intelligent men than they get credit for being. For every Frank Hague there are a thousand honest and hard working mayors.

Much of politics is a matter of personalities — of working with people. Until the citizen works with people he cannot establish any leadership. One place where anyone may try his political wings is in the local political club. Former Mayor LaGuardia has been most scornful of these clubs. I am not. They serve as partial urban substitutes for the country store and the town meeting. No doubt some have been hangouts for political parasites but that fact does not disprove their importance —it only shows that better clubs are needed. And if there is no club in the community the citizen has a real opportunity to develop some political leadership.

The party primary is the first gate to effective politics and in most states no one can join in the primary who is not registered. Registration laws differ from state to state and they do not always apply in the same way in all areas of the same state. But the town clerk or the secretary of the political club or even the policeman on the corner can tell you when and where to register so as to vote in the primary. If you miss your opportunity to register, says Mellett, "you can write yourself off as a flop in politics and look around for some activity for which you are better fitted."

Importance of Primary

It is the primary that picks the candidates for whom the voters cast their ballots in November. The importance of this primary cannot possibly be overstated. If the voters must choose on election day between a crook and a fool, or between two fools or two crooks, it is because the party members on primary day set up just that choice for them. Preventing such a choice is really not difficult. Outside of the south, where the primary is the real election, only from 10 to 20 per cent of the citizens who manage to vote at the general election in November will get out to vote on primary day. Take the matter down to a single precinct or election district. Suppose a thousand votes are cast in the general election. Then you can expect that from a hundred to two hundred votes will be cast in the primary. Just a few more than a hundred would be a safe majority. Generally speaking, any man or woman who has a hundred friends and relatives can, then, make himself a force in American politics. He can swing the vote in one precinct and that is what will impress any political organization.

In most states there is one precinct committeeman and one committeewoman for each party. They are the leaders in this smallest of our political units; they are the infantry of the party organization. The citizen seeking to take a more active part in politics than merely voting will learn who his committeeman and committeewoman are. Again the clerk in the cigar store or the policeman on the corner can tell him; but he can, if he wants, call the county board of elections to make sure. When he learns the names of his party officers and what they are like, he may want to work with them or, if he thinks they are no good, he will seek to displace them at the next primary.

These committeemen and women serve their parties without salary. Some have political jobs, but probably the great majority are in politics for the same reason that any good citizen would go in—because they are interested in helping to make democracy work. They are more sinned against than sinning. Their great weakness is that, after long years of ringing doorbells and trying to coax and cajole the sovereign voter to come to the polls, they get tired and discouraged. They need all the help they can get, and they will welcome any assistance without asking the would-be assistant to commit himself on the

reciprocal trade agreements act or the St. Lawrence waterways.

No one should go into politics and not expect to put in some of his time at it. It takes time, just as any worthwhile activity takes time. Going to political meetings—not to mention organizing them, arranging radio time, getting up and distributing campaign materials, lining up election day workers, finding cars to take voters to the polls—these and a thousand other party activities take people's time.

The people who do all this necessary work do not get mentioned in the history books, not even in the footnotes; but their work is just as necessary to democracy as the drafting of platforms or the determination of high policy.

Financing Political Action

Any party needs money. It has to rent headquarters, pay for radio time, print materials, pay for postage, and do many other things that cost money. Most of the costs are necessary to the functioning of the democratic process, and in carrying them the parties pay part of the cost of government. Any citizen who goes actively into politics will be called upon for contributions, and he should give as much as he can afford to his party. The machine politicians can raise plenty of money from the questionable sources to which they often have access. Clean money is doubly useful. A person who can raise money for his party has almost certainly a promising political career before him.

Some citizens shy away from politics because they think it is dirty and dishonest. I am sure that politics is no worse than many other human activities. Rather, politics takes its tone from the general moral climate of the time. In a period of robber barons in business Tweed rings can be expected in politics. There have been lawyers whose ethics have been questioned, and even organized sport has had its scandals. But if a citizen is, after investigation, convinced that the organization of his party in his community is corrupt, then he has an extraordinary opportunity—he can, with his friends, clean it up. He has a real chance to do something for democracy right in his own backyard.

Although some compromises have to be made in politics in order to get things done—as they have to be made in other aspects of human affairs—no man needs to do anything his conscience forbids. "You can't always cause the best man to be chosen for office," to quote Mellett once more, "and you can't always cause the bad eggs to be thrown out of the party. What you can do is to keep yourself free from any improper obligations, your feet under your center of gravity and slowly push your weight in the direction of what you think is good."

Obviously it is very much harder to start a campaign to clean the rascals out of your party organization than to get to work in a going organization of persons interested in politics as a service to democracy. It is harder; but it can be done and it is being done more and more as citizens are awakening to the

high stakes that depend on proof that our system really is what we tell the world it is.

Of course, a citizen must enter politics with his eyes open, and sometimes with his guard up. He owes it to himself and his community not to let his work or his money be used for sinister purposes by a corrupt or cynical machine. An alert citizen can soon tell whether or not the organization is on the up and up. If it is not, and he cannot make any headway in reforming it from within, it becomes his duty to get out and join with others in fighting it from outside.

This may mean crossing party lines, at least temporarily. It will certainly bring down the denunciations of the party "regulars" that he is a turncoat, a traitor or worse. That is just standard political billingsgate and should disturb no one with a firm mind and a good conscience. Many a recognized party leader has at some time or other performed his greatest service to his party by fighting a corrupt or unsavory clique that temporarily had obtained control of the machinery. When that control depends on the control of public offices and other patronage, the first step toward a clean-up may be a sound drubbing at the next election.

I have undertaken to point out how a citizen gets started in politics as an avowed member of a political party. I realize there are situations, particularly in cities where the national party of one's natural allegiance is thoroughly corrupt and boss-ridden, in which the admission of membership in either party comes hard, and certainly requires qualification or explanation. I also recognize the fact that few thoughtful citizens can ever be entirely happy about the position or lack of position of any party on all public questions.

Parties Are Important

Nevertheless, I am convinced that no citizen can claim to be living a full civic life if he does not join some political party and exert what influence he can within it and through it. We can neither reform nor abolish political parties by wishing. Parties have grown up in every free society as the chief method of promoting candidates for high public office and presenting a program or platform for political action. The citizen without party deprives himself of the most direct means of influencing the choosing of candidates and the policies that determine the course of government. He may claim he is "independent" but actually he is pathetically dependent for his political fare on whatever candidates and propositions his more politically-minded neighbors set before him.

There are, of course, other agencies which influence public affairs—nonpartisan civic organizations, pressure groups, the press, the public platform. Political parties and government itself frequently bend to the strong winds of opinion that they generate.

Some citizens prefer to work mainly through parties, others through the non-party organiza-

(Continued on page 320)

Let's Talk Things Over Right

Well organized discussion programs properly carried on will bring understanding and sound democratic action.

By SHEPHERD L. WITMAN*

DISCUSSION gets nowhere." "You just sit around and arrive at no decisions." "It's entertaining but it wastes your time." How often we have heard these comments. The tragedy is that so often they are spoken with the voice of experience.

Fortunately, these results are not inherent in discussion but are the result of mismanagement of discussion. Few people understand its purposes or its method. Properly conceived and executed, discussion becomes the most effective device toward sound democratic action.

Discussion must be recognized in its proper relationship to the traditional instruments of democracy. The framers of our government realized that the philosophy of democracy required practical application. Certainly the rights of man had to be protected; positive legal restraints had to be placed upon the various branches of our government; a free system of elections was necessary for the expression of the people's will.

But it was not enough merely to fashion these instruments of democratic government. Rallying points for diverse opinion were necessary. Out of this need grew the political party. In the simpler life of earlier days the party more or less adequately met the needs of the people in their struggle to find common denominators of policy. But as the complexities of modern life bore more heavily upon the limited experience and knowledge of the electorate, the political party has been unable to keep pace in its capacity for formulation as distinguished from the mere expression of opinion.

Part of the difficulty is the result of the movement of political decisions away from the small community into the state, the nation and the world. As the focus of attention has moved away from the center of community life, the community has lost its earlier skill in facing these problems and dealing with them at its own level.

Thus, while the community has tried to keep pace with a mounting complexity of function and administration, the individual citizen has been left far behind. Nineteenth century mechanisms of citizen participation are still the most frequent pattern for twentieth century democratic control.

This dilemma is not the product of the citizen's disinterest. He knows the impact of taxation, zoning, garbage collection, police and fire protection and other manifold activi-

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ties assumed by his city government. But what can he do about it? Where and how can he gain the information necessary to attack these problems, the essential opportunity to think together over these questions?

Opportunity for Expression

The fact is that the urban community has failed to provide him with adequate means for analysis of his problems and for the collective expression of his attitude toward them. The great advantage of living together in a common community has not been utilized effectively to think together and plan together. No effective media of group communication have been evolved.

This is the atmosphere which permits the development of citizen lethargy, a sense of personal inadequacy and a consequent attitude of political futility. The citizen's response to dissatisfactions takes the course of individual grumbling, or a resignation wholly incompatible with the needs of modern life.

On the other hand, certainly it is not enough just to hand the citizen the cold facts. He must have an opportunity to evaluate facts in his own way at the level of his own capacity and interest. He must be able to thrash out matters in cooperation with his fellow-citizens. He must be shown the bearing of the evidence upon his problems and upon himself as an individual.

The attack upon these problems requires development of a sound system for the exchange of facts within the group, and for the cooperative analysis of those facts in the light of the community's needs and the possibilities and methods of improvement and correction. This calls for a correlated and interrelated program founded upon the technique of public discussion. It requires thorough organization and able direction.

To meet these requirements a specific organization—let's call it a council on public affairs—is called for in each community. How to set it up most effectively, who should sponsor it and how it should be financed are fundamental questions which must be considered.

It is basic that the techniques for the communication of ideas, and educational analysis and synthesis of those ideas, must be carried out at the level of common interest and physical convenience. This requires both an over-all, city-wide or area-wide discussion program and a decentralization of that program through civic subcenters.

Much so-called discussion has failed because of the general failure to understand both its purpose and its methods. The type of discussion which should have the widest possible use in the cities and towns is an organized, systematic exchange of ideas, a mutual challenging of opinion, a collective use of facts pointed precisely toward a tangible purpose—to assist people's thinking that they may arrive at their own conclusions.

Discussion is not, therefore, a bloodless, devitalized, pointless process. Attitudes and convictions *are* sought. They are not, however, sought as the composite idea of the group. No votes are taken, no majority or minority attitudes crystal-

lized in any formal action. This is the job of the pressure group which in turn has a real but different role in the functioning of our political society. To divert the objective of discussion into this pressure area would be wholly destructive of the achievements we seek through discussion.

Discussion Leads to Action

But the discussion group should be recognized as the means by which people are motivated to political action, to support of those parties and groups which most nearly represent the policies they have come to believe necessary to the general welfare. Discussion should lead directly to citizen action through proper channels of political expression.

What, then, are we after in discussion? Its purposes are to introduce new and old facts into the gamut of men's thinking; to evaluate these facts, determine their relationship to decisions to be made, and balance them against the entire area of related evidence.

Discussion does change men's opinions. It is true that it changes them slowly, in short steps as it were. But this very gradualness of change is in itself a strength since it carries with it much deeper and firmer convictions.

Discussion is the contemporary product of the evolution of the primitive town meeting. It is the essence of democracy in the intricate, modern world. And by this very fact it contributes to the strengthening of the democratic tradition. Not only does it draw out men's ideas but it generates the tolerance for others' opinions so necessary in the democratic process.

Obviously, there are no geographic limits to the effectiveness of this procedure. The values derived are dependent only upon the breadth of the discussion's use and the technical effectiveness of its operation within the analyzing group.

Such an achievement will require a great deal more than an occasional fragmentary "discussion meeting." It calls for the unswerving application of the sound principles of discussion, of organization, of administration and support for the whole urban area.

The key to successful discussion is the leader of the group. He must be aware of those methods of group leadership which will assure the introduction of pertinent facts, the freest exchange of ideas, the uninhibited expression of opinion in a thoroughly constructive manner. This means he will want to know something of the human mind and something of the rules of logic. His responsibility is to maintain consistent analysis, keeping it in the channel of the search for truth.

Adequate leadership will require a good municipal leaders' training program, systematically organized, set up by experts who know the field, and carried out with understanding vigor. It is a cornerstone of the structure. It will provide guidance both in the techniques of discussion leadership and in subject matter. Leadership training will necessarily be a continuous process so that a substantial reservoir of

trained and experienced leaders will develop.

Planning Committees

Subjects for discussion should be determined by subject planning committees. These committees might consist of from fifteen to 25 individuals, each representing a special interest group or phase of activity within the area or subdivision for which discussions are planned. They will be called upon to answer the question: "What problems are troubling us and our neighborhood most?"

The interest of the community and of the citizen is thus nailed down to reality. A discussion program based upon the subjects resulting from this inquiry will be realistic and will touch the genuine concern of everyone. Too often programs suffer from subject selection by "superior," "objective" executives who determine plans on "what the people need." Nothing could be more false and dangerous.

The discussion meetings themselves, the heart of the program, must be set up on a regular time basis. They must utilize every physical convenience. The public school buildings should be available for informal discussion groups, the churches can be enlisted to lend their physical facilities, civic recreational centers and private homes must be brought into the project.

The various devices of informal education must be employed to extract the maximum of educational values of each method. The program, although predicated upon the small discussion group, should also employ panels, symposia, round tables and lectures, and visual aids such as films, slides, charts and pamphlets. Here again expert advice is needed to evaluate the requirements of the community and the area and to recommend the proportions and occasions on which these methods should be employed. Training in, and demonstration of, the most efficient utilization of these techniques will also be necessary.

City-wide lectures should be integrated with the discussion groups. The program should include specialized study committees of citizens which can perform an invaluable service in evaluating the needs of the community and the best methods of meeting those needs. Their reports should be carefully drawn together by well qualified reporters and edited for the use of the people.

A program planning service for local organizations will be of great value in bringing into the picture the active cooperation of the numerous independent civic organizations found in every city. Their cooperation is almost assured if they can have help in organizing and carrying out their own programs.

Naturally administrative direction of this program is necessary. It can be simply set up with a central office supervising the program. The plan should envisage in the long run subcenters for each of the natural communities of the city or area. There should be attached to the central office a civic education advisory committee. This committee of citizen volunteers will assume the job of over-all evaluation of the

educational program and advise in its planning and operation.

First Steps for Program

How can such a program be inaugurated? Each city will have its own special problems, its own resources and many characteristics which will call for tailoring of the master plan. Naturally, the first step will be an examination of the community's resources. This should be done under the direction of a civic educational advisory committee, which will normally evolve into the permanent civic education committee referred to above. It should seek professional assistance in the early days of its planning to help evaluate resources and to propose a blueprint of action. Under its direction civic education subcommittees will be created in the natural communities.

It would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of technical assistance in this early stage. One of the primary causes of failure in the field of community education can be attributed directly to lack of experience on the part of the well intentioned citizens who have tried to inaugurate such programs. All the good will in the world will not overcome the bad effects of an inadequate or a wholly distorted start.

One difficulty has been that programs having inadequate funds seek to economize by using what resources are available for speakers or for fragments of the program. Such money would be immeasurably better spent to call into the community someone with knowledge and experience in community education to prepare workable plans and to assist the city's leaders in understanding the operation of the project, its objectives and what it can be expected to accomplish. Experience demonstrates that when this is done, private sources of revenue are immeasurably increased. It is time we recognized the significance of professional guidance in community education.

Citizen motivation for such a program is not difficult to effect. It will rest upon the conviction that an effective program is planned; upon the sense of achievement each citizen gets from the meetings he attends; and, above all, upon his recognizing his own personal stake in the program. In short, citizen motivation follows awareness of original interest and the sustaining of that interest.

The financial question raises points on which no prompt answer can be made. Clearly, there must be a choice between private financing and public financing or some combination of the two. The validity of city support for an education program of this sort is well worth consideration. Public support, however, even if considered valid, will usually be a long time in coming. The program must probably prove its own worth with private resources. These are actually quite readily available if plans are properly presented to the people of the city, and if they see precision and the probability of effective results within the proposals themselves.

What has been proposed here is merely the barest outline of a means of developing effective citizen participation in urban progress. It is

offered as the core around which an active civic life can be generated and maintained. It is not a substitute for anything existing today. In fact, rather than increasing the complexity of modern city or metropolitan organization, it simplifies it. This is true because it will permit the integration of many existing organizations, such as civic planning commissions, within its pattern, resulting in greater efficiency and economy of operation.

Meeting the Challenge

It is quite clearly the avenue by which existing institutions and organizations can reach the people and, in turn, the means for the people to reach these agencies. How often we have heard complaints that the mass of citizenry does not understand the plans and the work of civic planning groups. These proposals will meet that challenge.

The name, council on public affairs, has been used to provide a convenient designation for the overall community organization needed to administer the program suggested here. Such a council would in effect be a citizens or community council for putting public discussion to work. Citizens councils with varied points of emphasis—planning, welfare, adult education, etc.—already exist in some communities. In a community that is fully equipped for effective citizen understanding and action, the job of the council on public affairs might well be organized as a major part of the work of a comprehensive, general purpose citizens council. It would be important, of course, to make certain of two things: (1) that the council is really community-wide in scope and interest, not limited or biased in favor of a particular function or cause, and (2) that the provision for organization, leadership and coordination of discussion be accepted as a prime, not an incidental, function of the council and that it be financed and staffed accordingly.

Let there be no doubt. From this program *can* come cooperative and positive action, action which has the force of genuine collective effort fortified by the enormous strength of reasoned convictions. There will not be universal agreement. We don't want that. But there will be general agreements replacing disintegrated opinion.

That reasoned convictions are the foundation of political action is the premise of democracy. This proposal for a council on public affairs gives it effective implementation. It helps the citizen formulate his political will on sounder bases. This, in turn, stimulates him to assume far greater active responsibility. He has a greater interest in the problems, his enthusiasm mounts, his convictions are surer and he feels the latent power which resides in cooperative effort. Public discussion properly organized and directed does indeed result in action.

The Politician Hates P. R.

Machines yearn for return to 'good old days' when they capitalized on public apathy to gain complete control.

By OXIE REICHLER*

OF COURSE, most politicians hate proportional representation as a method of electing a city council. P. R. guarantees effectiveness in giving the results that good citizens desire. After the last city election in Yonkers, where I live, the Democratic city chairman admitted that his party never would have gotten two of the five Yonkers councilmen, that they would have been shut out, except for P. R. Democrats had two-fifths of the vote: they got two-fifths of the council.

In contrast consider the city of Philadelphia, where there are 700,000 enrolled Republicans and 350,000 Democrats. Is the government of the city operated by men and women who represent these people? Let us see. The city council has 22 members—21 Republicans, one Democrat.

One would think that the 350,000 Democrats would seriously consider how it happens that there is a Republican on the council for each 33,000 Republicans but only one Democrat for all the 350,000 Democrats. Could there possibly be anything more unrepresentative, more undemocratic, more un-American?

Yes there could. The Democrats could be shut out of the government entirely despite their one-third of the voting population. Indeed, in hundreds upon hundreds of our local governments there is one-party rule, with the other side shut out entirely.

A typical example is Mount Vernon, New York, immediately to the east of Yonkers. Previous to a local election in Mount Vernon the *Daily Argus* was imploring its readers to stop electing a solid Republican common council because it did not make for good government for one party to have such complete control. It would be very good for Mount Vernon, the *Argus* argued editorially, if only the people elected a minority of Democrats—to make it two-party government. Forty per cent of Mount Vernon's voters are Democrats.

But it couldn't be done. The paper meant well but the case was hopeless. All those elected continued to be Republicans. The politicians like that—certainly the Republican politicians. And if the Democratic politicians do not like it, I know of no case where any one of them favors the simple and sure and easy cure—P. R.

You will find no really nice comments in Yonkers from either the Democratic city chairman or the Republican city chairman about proportional representation. Neither of these gentlemen has taken P. R. to his breast to give it a warm hug. The

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Republican leader has come out with a very kind statement that the party believes "in allowing the city manager form of government to operate successfully," and he went a little further, saying, "We believe in it, and believe it can operate smoothly." No such sweet talk about P. R., though. And no wonder!

The People Control

Whether it be in Yonkers, New York, in Long Beach, New York—the newest addition to the list of P. R. cities—or Toledo, Ohio, where P. R. has gone through the crucible five times, the story is the same. The politicians hate P. R. because they cannot control it. They cannot control the government it permits and provides. It knocks them on the knuckles and breaks their grasp.

In no known case—surely in no known American community that has P. R.—has this form of voting destroyed any political party. It has merely cut them down to size, to their own proper size, to the size they actually have and deserve to have on the basis of numerical strength.

Let's be realistic. P. R. gives "too much" power to the voters. But somehow the American people seem to like to get back the powers they surrender to others after they find those powers are being abused.

P. R. lets the people swat the political machines at every municipal election. It does not damage the two-party system. It sweetens and improves it. It cleans it up to taste for public service.

Wherever P. R. operates efficiently, whether in New York or Yonkers or Toledo, it blocks self-perpetuation of the "ins." The politicians hate that.

It blocks unrestricted control of the machinery of city government by any faction when that faction has merely gained a slight majority. Politicians hate that.

P. R. leads to the nomination and the election of higher-type candidates. What can a machine—which might have some nasty anti-public jobs to be done—do with a slate of high-minded independents?

Most of all, of course, P. R. is deadly to the politicians because it requires no primaries yet sacrifices none of the primary's advantages. Any popular candidate finds it easy to run. He needn't bow down low and scrape before any political leader. This freedom is poison to the machines.

Some of our best candidates—in New York, in Yonkers, in Toledo and elsewhere—were first nominated and elected under P. R. by independents before a political party would back them. That was the case in Yonkers with our distinguished councilman, Edith P. Welty, now in her fourth two-year term. It happened in the case of John A. Burke, now president of the borough of Queens in New York City. He was first elected to the city council without the endorsement of his party. Later, of course, he got it. There are many similar instances.

There's one principal weakness in plurality election of councilmen at large instead of by wards, and it is evident in many of our city man-

ager cities as in those of mayor-council form. The election at large tends to shut out any minority, even a large one. We have already pointed out the situation in Mount Vernon. P. R. cuts through all that. It affords the benefit of candidates elected at large, but it virtually prohibits the monopoly of all seats by a single slate to the exclusion of all others. And that's why politicians feel so low when P. R. functions well.

Control by Minorities

Politicians know that it is not only possible but even probable—if the opposition can be divided—to elect their slate with an actual minority of voters under the plurality system. They remember that Abraham Lincoln got only 40 per cent of the popular vote, that Grover Cleveland had 300,000 fewer votes than were cast for all his opponents, that Woodrow Wilson had but 42 per cent of the popular vote in 1912. They know more intimately how ward after ward in our larger cities is carried by a minority, often a small one.

When you find a kill-P. R. campaign under way, look for the two-party deal to attain that single objective, revived control of the council by a return to ward politics. That was the picture in Yonkers not many months ago. That continues to be the picture in Toledo for, although the so-called Guitteau amendment on the ballot last fall failed to kill both P. R. and the manager plan and to revive the former mayor-council with ward-elected aldermen, a sixth battle is being organized.

In Toledo both major parties opposed the present form of government. They encouraged their workers "unofficially" to support the kill-P. R. and kill-manager amendment. It was significant, however, that the Democratic party's strongest candidate and Toledo's only Negro councilman, also a Democrat, helped swing the tide to save P. R. and the manager form. Similarly the Republican mayor and two Republican party officers lined up against a return of the old system. The CIO split into two groups. The AFL favored P. R.–city manager.

Politicians keep dinning into our ears that minority groups prefer P. R. The largest single minority group in Toledo (Polish) supported the 21-ward mayor plan.

By the way, it was interesting to find, during last fall's Toledo campaign, an outcry for the election of the mayor and vice mayor at large "and the selection of a council by the people and not by P. R."

We in Yonkers, after using P. R. awhile, revised our charter to permit election of the mayor and vice mayor at large—but by a special recount of the P. R. ballots. It works out well, too.

Long Beach, New York, is having its troubles. Its troubles are pretty much like those of Yonkers in its formative years of P. R.–council-manager. We couldn't elect top-flight councilmen and those we did elect proved weaker than we feared. That's Long Beach's present trouble—after good government had smashed the evil Ornstein machine but fell short of follow-up support from the voters. An excellent man-

ager is being badgered by patronage-hungry councilmen (same old story) and a merry battle rages.

In Long Beach it was the outgoing, discredited machine that—on the eve of the election of a new charter—distributed a slanderous brochure attempting to arouse racial and religious hatreds by seeking to link independent leaders in the good government forces with Fascism and Ku Kluxism.

Threat in New York

In recent weeks New York City has been learning once again that the leaders of both major political parties still hate P. R. and that a kill-P. R. campaign is being readied. No objections to P. R. have emanated from the voters at large, with the exception of statements from two veterans' leaders. These have chosen to skate out onto the thin ice of political action, promising to have thousands of members join in the "kill," although the constitutions of these veterans' organizations forbid such activities.

Nobody, however, is offering New Yorkers a substitute proposal for P. R. Nobody so far has said he wants to go back to having 64 Democrats and Joseph Clark Baldwin (Republican) on the board of aldermen.

New York politicians, like those everywhere, hate P. R. because it tends to destroy public apathy and to introduce true democracy by giving representation to minorities and by forbidding the minority to "take all" when it can divide the majority.

Public apathy is the very foundation of machine control, as Boss Ed Flynn of the Bronx tells us in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

New York will have less public apathy and much more public intelligence about good government and P. R. when and if New York's newspapers begin to present a P. R. election as adequately and interestingly and completely as they covered the Langley Collyer hermit yarn or even the Kentucky Derby.

P. R. Does Not Breed Blocs

Speaking for Yonkers, which situation I know best, the P. R. system never has tended to drive the community apart, as the politicians fulminated it would. One of our more prominent P. R.-hating Republicans has said that P. R. is intentionally destructive of the two-party system and that it breeds blocs and hateful divisions among the people based on religion, color, race or social or economic differences. Along about the same time his views were being echoed by a powerful Democratic boss.

It is of fascinating significance that in the seven years of our city's experience with P. R. these two men are the only persons ever to have raised religious and racial issues in the community as to P. R.

No other known cases of bitterness or cynicism have been evident. On the contrary it has brought citizens together in a common enterprise.

Similarly, our P. R.-hating politicians have warned us loudly that the P. R. count "leads to fraud," but it is of special interest in Yonkers that—in the single case of ad-

mitted fraud by a P. R. worker—his story was that he had been paid a bribe by a leading political machine man to destroy the ballots of a near-winner in our first P. R. election.

Of this I am positive: I have never heard of any dissatisfaction with P. R. on the part of persons or groups interested in effective city government.

The enemies of P. R.—the political organizations which think only in terms of control and patronage—seem to be forever trying to sabotage this system of electing our city councils.

I think we can agree that the degeneration of the two-party system on the local level is the real threat and it is happening where there is no P. R. Our local governments and our local taxpayers are being exploited so much by political machines that the politicians have come to regard this exploitation as their right.

It was this deterioration of the two-party system that virtually drove Yonkers and New York and Toledo and Long Beach to adopt P. R. in the first place. They couldn't see any other way out!

HOW TO BREAK INTO POLITICS

(Continued from page 309)

tions. The full-fledged citizen will find some active place in both fields of civic endeavor. But the why and the how of nonpartisan citizen action is another story.

I think no honest man should go into politics expecting to make money. Few public positions pay very handsome salaries, and most of those that do are short-term appointments.

The satisfactions for the citizen are other than financial. They consist in the satisfaction that comes from having accomplished something to make government by the people stronger, cleaner, more effective. Not everybody may have a street named after him, or have his statue erected in the public square, but every citizen may so affect the politics of his community that it is a better place because he lived there.

Theodore Roosevelt expressed this idea years ago when he told of his experiences with other progressive young men in the New York legislature—"the feeling that we were really being of some use in the world." That is the chief compensation of politics.

These Children of the State

Examination of intergovernmental relations reveals many inequities which cry out for new thinking and methods.

By ROY E. BROWN, JOSEPH M. RAY
and STUART A. MacCORKLE*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of a series of three articles, edited by Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, of the Bureau of the Census, from a round table discussion on intergovernmental fiscal relations at the December 1946 conference of the American Political Science Association.

AS THE war recedes and the pressures of the inflationary period on public finance become acute, dormant interest in fiscal problems has been awakened concerning state-local relations as a major medium for postwar adjustment. Initially interest is concerned with public revenues—their adequacy and distribution—but in the background is concern for the administrative mechanism through which the state supervises—or fails to supervise—the finances of local governments to which the state is asked to grant aid or taxing power. In this description of state-local financial relations Colorado affords a contrast with Alabama, Texas and Maryland.

Dr. Brown on Colorado

When Judge Dillon, in his treatise on municipal corporation law, stated that the city was the child of the state he may have felt that parenthood entailed some responsibilities. In Colorado these children of the state—schools, counties and cities—have been crying for attention, but the parent still continues to ignore them. Either the children are able to support themselves and should be made responsible, declares Dr. Roy E. Brown, or they should be treated as infants and be fed, guided and protected by the parent.

State-local relationship in Colorado follows a familiar pattern. The state law on local budgets is not adequate, expenditure is not controlled, reporting is inadequate and local accounts are not audited by state officials. The state has provided but little leadership. Political strength has been divided between the rural areas which are Republican and the city of Denver which, until this spring's election, has had a tight, well organized Democratic organization. Such interest as the legislature may display in local government problems is usually blocked by Denver delegates. The citizens of Denver have generally opposed additional state aid to local governments on the ground that most of the revenue would be raised in Denver and spent in the rural areas. The result has been rather modest grants to cities, counties and schools.

In Colorado, as in most states, local units have difficulty in raising

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ample revenues to support local operations. Local revenues come largely from the property tax and limitations are placed on millage rates by the state. One feature of this limitation provides that a local government can increase its rate, not to exceed 5 per cent, above the levy of the preceding year. This offers some redress, but places a heavier burden on real property which is generally overtaxed. Some half-hearted attempts have been made to relieve the burden on real property but without success.

The tax burden on the state level is high. The state uses both a sales and an income tax. While revenue collections are fair, funds are so definitely earmarked that the legislature actually has control over less than 20 per cent of them.

The first big cut goes for old-age pensions. In Colorado the old-age pension group is extremely well organized. It has maintained an effective lobby in the legislature, and has secured an amendment to the constitution which earmarks all sales taxes for old-age pensions. A pension of $45 a month is provided for all those over the age of 60. Should additional moneys be available from the tax after the pension is paid, it goes into a jackpot which is divided among the pensioners at the end of the year. Needless to say, during the past few years pensioners have been hitting the jackpot consistently. Better than 40 per cent of all revenue collected by the state is earmarked for this purpose. When we consider that other major revenues, such as motor vehicle and gas taxes, are earmarked for highways, it is obvious that the power of the state legislature to appropriate is very limited.

The state income tax was adopted in 1938 to replace the property tax for school purposes. At the end of the first year, Governor Carr in reporting to the legislature said: "It is now apparent that the income tax is not, and will not be, a replacement tax but rather an additional tax burden—in 42 counties the old levy for schools has been converted into a part of the general revenue fund and the income tax has been merely a windfall." Upon recommendation of the governor, proceeds of the income tax were divided 65 per cent to the state general fund and 35 per cent to the schools. In 1939 a proposed constitutional amendment, providing that the entire proceeds of the income tax go to the schools, was defeated.

The 65-35 division remained in effect until 1943 when the legislature reduced the amount going to the state to 50 per cent; the 35 per cent to the county school fund remained as it was, and the other 15 per cent went into a school equalization fund. Counties could participate in this fund by setting up a minimum program of $1,000 for each elementary classroom unit and $1,333 for each high school classroom unit, and by authorizing a minimum local levy.

During the next two years a rather significant thing happened. Only fourteen of the 75 counties chose to participate in the program. The result was that, of the $1,800,-

000 allocated to the equalization fund, only $300,000 was paid these fourteen counties and the remaining $1,500,000 reverted to the general fund. This resulted despite the fact that the educational block had long been pressing for additional state aid for equalization. When local districts were required to make a minimum levy to qualify for state funds, it was discovered that only a relatively small sum was required.

The demands made on the legislature by the Colorado Educational Association are similar to those being made in many other states. It is asking that the number of school districts be reduced and a larger and more efficient unit, with a more adequate tax base, be created. This improvement is sorely needed since many of the 2,000 districts have neither the resources nor the children to support an adequate educational program. The educational group is requesting a minimum education program of $3,000 per classroom unit, to be financed by an additional grant of $8,000,000 to be raised by a shared income tax and other sources as the legislature may provide. Since the individual and corporate income tax yielded only $6,200,000 in 1945—the schools already receiving about $3,000,000 of this sum—if all the income tax was earmarked for the schools the state would find it necessary to raise some $5,000,000 from other sources.

The solution of the local financial problem in Colorado may not be in additional state aid. All Colorado local governments are anxious to secure additional grants or shared taxes from the state irrespective of their ability to support their own governments. Local groups, teachers and county or municipal officials much prefer to turn to the state for additional revenues rather than to local taxpayers. The erroneous feeling is widespread that whatever a locality can secure from the state is a gift and does not affect local taxes. Local self-government implies a responsibility for raising revenues as well as for spending them. Rather than continue to increase state aid or to share state taxes, some consideration might well be given to one or all of the following measures:

1. Permit the state to take over and administer certain functions now generally considered as local. Welfare is coming to be a state function; public health may lend itself to state control and state finance.

2. Have the state withdraw from certain types of taxes and permit local units to use these taxes to supplement the property tax.

3 Have the state reduce its rates on certain taxes and permit the local units to levy up to a maximum determined by the state. For example, one cent of a cigarette tax might be reserved for state purposes, permitting a municipality to levy an additional one cent for its own use. These taxes, while levied by the local government, could and should be collected by the state.

State aid is and will be needed to equalize the tax burden and to assist in the support of submarginal units. But state aid, without solving the problem, perpetuates inefficient units that should be eliminated or consolidated. State aid de-

stroys local responsibility by making the local unit only a spending agent. It is high time that some attention be given to providing the local units with flexible tax systems that preserve local autonomy.

Dr. Ray on Alabama and Maryland

In both Alabama and Maryland, as is doubtless true throughout the United States, the state coffers are well filled while local governments are in need of additional revenue.

Alabama

In Alabama within recent years the division of examiners of public accounts has extended state administrative control by conducting an annual audit of all counties and requiring annual financial statements from the cities.

Counties have been authorized to use the facilities of the centralized purchasing establishment of the state government. They have only rarely availed themselves of this privilege. The legislative reference service recently recommended to the legislative council a bill to make compulsory the use of the state agency for all county purchases above a certain amount. The legislative council chose rather to recommend to the legislature a bill establishing a purchasing agent in each county and requiring purchasing to be done by bids. The legislature, which convened early in May, has not yet acted upon this bill.

State-local relationships in matters of tax assessment have not yet resulted in an adequate solution of the problem. From the earliest days Alabama taxpayers have enjoyed a system of self-assessment. County tax assessors are elected. The state has for many years been authorized to improve local assessment. Local resistance to forthright exercise of this control reached such proportions in one county some years ago that the county court house, with all the tax rolls, was burned down. Thereafter, the state sought to improve conditions by establishing three-man boards of equalization in each county. These boards, however, have been composed largely of courthouse hangers-on and have been allowed no funds for transportation. The result has been a continuation of the old system of self-assessment. Within the past three years annual schools for the instruction of tax assessors and members of boards of equalization have been held in various regions of the state under the auspices of the state department of revenue.

State aid to local governments in Alabama falls primarily in the fields of schools, welfare and health. The two latter are operated on a county-wide basis, with main program outlines contributed by state and federal requirements. State aid to schools has for many years constituted a major item of state expenditure. School funds are currently plentiful, since the lion's share of the sales tax yield is earmarked for the Alabama special educational trust fund. Educational opportunities are equalized by the application of an elaborate formula. There is considerable opinion favoring the channeling of the proceeds of the state income tax into the ASETF.

The income tax, pledged in 1934 to the retirement of a warrant-refunding debt, has long since built sufficient reserves to serve its purpose. An effort to amend the constitution to place income tax proceeds in the general fund was defeated in 1945, and an already large surplus in the present fund is continually growing larger.

Several Alabama taxes are shared with the localities. The counties receive approximately one-third of the yield of the gasoline tax for road purposes. Counties and cities receive shares of the proceeds of the motor vehicle license and the financial institutions excise tax. All counties and all cities where stores of the state liquor monopoly are operated receive shares of the profits earned. Of late years these profits have amounted to six or seven millions of dollars annually. The trend, however, appears to be in the direction of program aid rather than shared revenues.

Maryland

The situation in Maryland is made unusual by the existence of the city of Baltimore, which operates as both a county and a city on a budget approximately the same size as that of the state. There is continuous comment on the score that residents of the city contribute much more to the state's coffers than is returned in grants or shared taxes. All cities in Maryland are financially strapped. The only bright spot apparently is Hagerstown, where a sizable surplus of funds derives from profitable light and water systems.

In general, local governments are too dependent upon property tax yields. A system of continuous assessment by full-time, permanent assessors has recently been inaugurated in all counties. This system is definitely to be preferred to the self-assessment system in Alabama. The University of Maryland, in cooperation with the state and national associations of assessing officers and the state department of education, held a one-week school for assessing officers last year and a second school is planned for 1947.

The functions of schools, health and welfare are assigned to the counties. Several counties managed during the war to free themselves of debt. Seven counties have liquor dispensaries which yield them considerable revenue, but the undertakings are managed by state-appointed boards. Home rule for counties and Baltimore is provided in the constitution, but no counties except Montgomery and Wicomico have moved in the direction of home rule charters. Counties have recently been authorized to borrow to meet conditions of postwar road construction. What the counties lack most is operating revenue. The same is true for cities.

Last year the governor appointed a commission on the distribution of tax revenues. This commission issued an extensive report in October 1946, commonly known as the Sherbow report. Three of its general recommendations call for an annual budget, a fiscal research bureau and uniform systems of accounts for all political subdivisions. At its regular session during the first quarter

of 1947 the legislature proposed to the voters an amendment calling for annual sessions of the legislature. This proposed amendment presumably is derived in part from the committee's recommendation for an annual budget. The legislature also established in the legislative reference service a fiscal research bureau. Another law requires each county, city and town to establish its fiscal year beginning either on January 1 or on July 1. The same law provided for a commission on uniform accounts to establish a system of accounts for all counties, cities and towns. This law does not become compulsory until January 1, 1950.

The Sherbow report recommended that the formula for aid to the counties for education be based primarily upon the classroom unit and the pupil unit. It recommended also that the number of educational funds be reduced and that incentive grants be given to increase teachers' salaries and building funds. These reforms were enacted largely as recommended.

The Sherbow report recommended tax-sharing as the most feasible remedy for the insufficiency of city and county funds. State aid to cities has heretofore been virtually nonexistent in Maryland. When, therefore, the legislature acted to give effect to these Sherbow recommendations, it was breaking new ground. Under the new legislation, the tax on admissions, the recordation tax, and general licenses are to go hereafter to the city in which collected. In case such collection is made outside a city or town, the tax goes to the county.

The income tax has come to be an important source of revenue to the counties. Under the present law they receive one-fourth of the amount raised from their residents. The board of public works, however, is authorized to lower the income tax rate and in recent years, with surplus funds plentiful, this rate has been reduced to a minimum. The result has been reduced revenue for the counties. The Sherbow recommendation was that the localities, both municipal and county, be given a limited first call on income tax yield, a call for a percentage of income and not of tax yield. Rates were suggested of 1½ per cent on investment income and .625 per cent on ordinary income. The yield from rural residents would go to the county and that from urban residents would be divided equally between the city and the county. Legislation was enacted embodying these recommendations.

Some of the Sherbow recommendations failed of adoption. Those which did pass, however, clearly have started Maryland off along the shared-tax path.

Dr. MacCorkle on Texas

Texas lays no claim, concludes Dr. Stuart A. MacCorkle, to having many intergovernmental fiscal relations. Each of the state's approximately 7,850 local units guards with pride its own financial independence. This does not mean, however, an absence of intergovernmental fiscal cooperation. The three main

types to be discerned show what has occurred in the absence of a general program of state supervision.

The first consists of state aid for local functional programs. Significantly, Texas is one of the five states not sharing some of their taxes with cities. The counties are the beneficiaries, sharing in motor vehicle revenue. Since the county is the state agency in collecting license fees, the first $50,000 of motor fees collected annually are retained by each as a hybrid aid and reimbursement for service. Amounts in excess of $50,000, but less than $175,000, are divided equally between the county and the state, which is entitled to all collections over the latter amount. One unique feature is that Texas counties not taxing for highways may use motor licenses for any general purpose.

Of the state's four-cent tax on motor fuel, two cents are retained by the state highway fund, one cent goes to the available school fund, and one cent is allocated to the county and road district highway fund. The last distribution is important in that ten to fifteen million dollars have been expended annually to pay debt service on county and road district debt incurred for roads forming a part of the state highway system. From an administrative standpoint the result invites mention because the administration of debt serviced by the state is by a special state agency—the board of county and district indebtedness.

State support of schools is the justification advanced for the retention of the state property tax by Texas, which levies neither an income nor general sales tax. Texas varies from many states, although only in degree, in having built up a permanent school fund consisting of a landed endowment and an investment trust fund. Proceeds from the sale of lands are invested in securities. Interest earned on these investments, together with the previously mentioned property and gasoline taxes, constitute the available school fund for distribution to counties on the basis of their scholastic population.

The second type of relation, administrative supervision, is characterized in Texas by the absence of a central state agency for supervising local finance. Supervisory duties are dispersed among several functional departments and the offices of the state comptroller, the state auditor and the attorney general. None of these officials audits local accounts. The state comptroller, however, audits the state portion of county tax collectors' accounts annually; he exercises some authority over accounts of county tax collectors and provides a limited optional accounting service—forms, procedures and account classifications—for county financial officers.

The state requirement for local units to prepare annual budgets was a progressive step that has lacked administrative supervision to implement the budgeting process. State reporting of local financial statistics is relatively undeveloped; however, both the state auditor and state comptroller publish limited local financial information.

The attorney general's office ex-

ercises control over the legality of local bond issues without reviewing the policy involved in the purposes and amounts of the issues. Finally, the state agencies administering grants-in-aid provided by the federal government exercise the usual required supervision.

A third type of intergovernmental relation is possible among local governments under state authorization. The county commissioners court (legislative body) of any county may contract with any city having a population over 10,000 for the establishment and maintenance of a hospital, to be managed under the joint control of county and city authorities. Texas has 22 health units and/or hospitals operated jointly by cities and counties. Other functions in which joint city and county operation occur are libraries, welfare and recreation. These instances, however, have been rare.

Some 170 school systems in Texas bear a measure of relationship to the city government. In most instances, however, the city levies only the interest and sinking fund taxes for schools and does not levy the maintenance taxes. In only about one-fourth of the systems does the city levy and collect taxes for school operating purposes.

An unusual relation between the city of Austin and the school district of Austin resulted from a 1945 amendment to the city charter which requires that a maximum of $175,000 be delivered to the schools from the water and light fund upon the written request of the school board of trustees. Such money is payable out of the water, light and power profits made during the previous year. The utility rates must be maintained at a level to provide the $175,000 in addition to operational and maintenance costs and debt service. This example points to the growing number of intergovernmental arrangements in individual cases and functional fields. A general pattern has yet to emerge in Texas.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Housing Crisis Challenges Government

Congress Considers Long-Range Attack

WITH construction of new housing falling off instead of increasing, the various levels of government are faced with the continuing critical need of stimulating private enterprise and expediting public effort in the housing field. In the first quarter of 1947 only 158,000 new homes were reported as having been undertaken, as compared to 192,000 a year ago when construction controls were still on.

The *New York Times* on May 13, in urging enactment of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, emphasized that in New York City the number of new dwellings started by private builders in April was only 650, as against 2,650 in the preceding April. The Citizens Housing Council of that city asserts a need of more than 250,000 units. The national need is measured in millions, considering even moderately desirable housing standards.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, which was reported out to the senate on April 23 by the banking and currency committee with a six to five vote, continues to encounter stiff opposition in and out of Congress, despite the unusual circumstance of being advocated by both President Truman and Senator Taft in addition to many other public leaders.

Its public housing phase aims at the construction of 500,000 low-rent units over a four-year period by local housing authorities, with a federal subsidy of $26,500,000 the first year, rising to $105,600,000 in the fourth year, and continuing at that level to the end of a total 45-year period. The chief objective, however, is a goal of nearly 15,000,000 homes to be built in ten years under private auspices, with governmental "yield insurance," up to a billion dollar total, guaranteeing a minimum yield of 2¾ per cent from large-scale housing investments with anticipated yields of 3¼ to 4 per cent. Home purchases in the middle-income group would be encouraged by insured loans up to 95 per cent of cost, on 30-year payments at 4 per cent maximum annual interest.

Urban redevelopment would be aided by a fund of $500,000,000 for loans to cities to help develop blighted areas and assemble land for housing projects, and also by outright grants increasing from $4,000,000 the first year to $20,000,000 in the fifth and succeeding years, up to 45.

A fund of $250,000,000 is set up for loans to assist farm housing, with subsidies ranging from $2,500,000 the first year to $10,000,000 the fourth and succeeding years to the end of a thirteen-year period, and annual subsidies for low-rent non-farm housing in rural areas are provided, ranging from $5,000,000 initially to $25,000,000 the fifth and succeeding years up to 45.

The bill would establish a National Housing Commission to coordinate federal housing activities. The Federal Housing Agency, the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration and the Federal Public Housing Authority would be made permanent and their heads would be members of the commission, along with representatives of the Treasury, Department of Agriculture, Veterans' Administration and the RFC. An administrator would

coordinate the programs of the agencies represented.

The greatest opposition was expected to develop in the house of representatives, where the prior Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill died in committee after passing the senate.

To gain immediate housing relief for veterans and others many piecemeal efforts have taken shape, nationally and locally, some of them makeshift in character. Somewhat larger but less immediate programs are in prospect, including a referendum this fall in New York State on a $135,000,000 bond issue for additional low-rent housing loans, with increased state subsidies up to $13,000,000 per annum.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The referendum in **Augusta, Georgia,** (population 65,919) on May 7 resulted in victory for the council-manager charter, passed earlier by the legislature, by a vote of 6,107 to 5,040. The charter takes effect January 1, 1948, with a council of seven instead of the present fourteen. A county school board measure was also approved, 7,248 to 5,640, reducing a 22-member body to seven, elected at large, with at least two members residing outside the city. The total vote on the charter was 11,147 out of 26,000 potential voters in the city.

The council-manager plan was adopted at the polls in **Reno, Nevada,** (population 21,317) by a vote of 5161 to 3736 on May 6, carrying in all six wards. The total vote of 8897 compares with a registration of 13,382. The council is required to appoint a manager within six months.

Bethel, Vermont, (population 1,477) adopted the state enabling act providing town manager government.

Cottage Grove, Oregon, (population 2,625) has approved a charter amendment providing for the manager plan by a vote of 136 to 88; it becomes effective July 1, 1947.

St. Johns, New Brunswick, (population 51,140) which adopted the manager plan by ordinance in 1946 has now secured a council-manager charter from the New Brunswick legislature.

In **New Hampshire** there have been several recent developments in the council-manager movement. In **Dover** the Veterans Civic Committee has prepared a manager bill now before the legislature; public hearings have been held with strong support shown. If approved by the legislature, as expected, there will be a local referendum this autumn. In **Portsmouth** a similar bill has been prepared and introduced with the backing of a citizens committee. The town of **Claremont** is seeking legislation to become a city for which the council-manager plan has been proposed. The **Manchester** Taxpayers Association is campaigning for the adoption of the council-manager plan.

In **Worcester, Massachusetts,** an active movement is under way to have a referendum on Plan E (manager and P. R. council) at the November municipal election. Worcester now has a mayor and a council of two chambers. A committee has been at work obtaining petition signatures. The League of Women Voters is one of the interested organizations.

The **Newton, Massachusetts,** Plan E committee is seeking 4000 signatures to petitions calling for a vote on the manager plan.

Governor McConaughy of Connecticut signed the **Hartford** council-manager bill on May 1. An election for the council is to be held in November. The bill to authorize the manager plan for the town of **Manchester, Connecticut,** has also been signed by

the governor and a local referendum is expected in July or August.

The proposed charter for **Montgomery County, Maryland,** recently completed by the charter board, provides the manager plan (see page 349).

The Montgomery County League of Women Voters has been furthering the idea of a council-manager charter for **Takoma Park, Maryland,** in preference to mere adoption of a manager ordinance such as has been discussed in that town.

The proposed council-manager charter for **Richmond, Virginia,** was filed by the charter commission with the Hustings Court on May 2. A referendum election is expected for November 4. If the charter is adopted a nonpartisan election of the nine councilmen, at large, would occur in mid-1948.

Louisburg, North Carolina, defeated a manager proposal last month 303 to 206.

Mayor F. N. McCorkle, who is serving his fourth consecutive term in **Camden, South Carolina,** said recently that the manager plan would be ideal for that city and would increase administrative efficiency.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Hampton, South Carolina,** has been studying the manager plan as the apparent answer to many of the problems of that community.

Mayor A. R. Agate of **Elyria, Ohio,** recently advocated the manager plan and a small council in that city.

A group of civic-minded citizens in **Georgetown, Illinois,** is making a study of the manager plan.

Montevideo, Minnesota, will vote on a proposed council-manager charter on June 17.

The Kiwanis Club of **Watertown, Wisconsin,** is launching an educational campaign to familiarize the voters with the council-manager plan.

An active campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Levelland, Texas. Plainview** and **Robstown** also are planning movements for council-manager charters.

A manager proposal was defeated in **Great Bend, Kansas,** at a general municipal election on April 1, by a majority of 379 out of a total vote of 1435. **Larned, Kansas,** also defeated a proposed manager plan, 304 to 226.

A fifteen-member committee of business and civic leaders has been appointed by the Chamber of Commerce of **Lawrence, Kansas,** to investigate the merits of the manager plan.

A citizens' group in **Purcell, Oklahoma,** is working for a manager plan charter to supersede the present commission plan.

In **Berkeley, California,** the existing manager plan has been strengthened by adoption on May 6, by a vote of 13,456 to 11,193, of a charter amendment removing the existing limit of $10,000 on the manager's salary. Another amendment, adopted 16,710 to 6,523, provides that no councilman can be appointed city manager during his term or within one year after its expiration; nor, within the same period, to any city-paid position which was created or the compensation of which was increased by the council during his membership therein.

Mayor L. R. Pettijohn of **Hanford, California,** has endorsed the manager plan, stating that it is also favored by the city council.

El Centro, California, defeated the council-manager plan by a vote of 897 to 523.

In **Petaluma, California,** where a charter election occurs in June, forms of city government, culminating in the council-manager plan, have been discussed in a series of editorials in the *Argus-Courier*.

In **Corvallis, Oregon,** a newly elect-

ed councilman, Robert Mix, advocates the manager plan, which has been discussed by civic leaders for some time and in which the local newspaper has shown some interest.

Home Rule, Regional Planning for Georgia Communities

Governor Thompson of Georgia has signed bills to provide home rule for cities in that state, and to establish a metropolitan planning council for Fulton and DeKalb Counties, including the cities of Atlanta and Decatur, in order to coordinate plans for future expansion and growth and to draw up a master plan for the development of the entire Greater Atlanta area. The new board will not supplant the present Fulton County Planning Commission nor the Atlanta Planning Commission but will serve in an advisory capacity.

Cleveland Area Inaugurates Regional Planning

A new regional planning commission was established recently in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in which Cleveland is located. It is to prepare comprehensive plans and recommendations covering such matters as expressways and other interurban public works by more than fifty municipalities in the area.

The American Society of Planning Officials reports that the new agency will replace the Cuyahoga County Planning Commission, and will be financed by a county appropriation of at least $15,000 a year, plus individual municipal payments ranging from $100 to $500. Municipal participation is voluntary.

The new commission is designed to provide planning service at minimum cost for small communities in the metropolitan area which generally cannot afford to retain their own consultants. Plans drawn up by the commission will be submitted to the various municipalities for adoption.

Texas Adopts Municipal Retirement System

A comprehensive pension and retirement system for municipal employees in Texas became law in April with the approval of Governor Jester. The legislation, sponsored by the League of Texas Municipalities, was originally introduced in 1945. It passed unanimously in the house of representatives but failed to come up for consideration in the senate. The present bill was introduced by Representative George Parkhouse of Dallas on January 30, 1947.

Known as the Texas municipal retirement system, it will be managed by a board of trustees composed of five members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate. Three members must be chosen from among chief executive officers, chief finance officers, or department heads of Texas cities; the other two are to be employees of municipalities. An executive director, appointed by the board, will be responsible for management of the entire plan.

Participation by any municipality in the system is optional with the governing body; it may extend to one or all of the city's departments as desired. A participating city may refuse to add new departments or new employees to the system, but it cannot discontinue any participants. A petition signed by qualified electors equal in number to 10 per cent of the total number of votes cast at the last regular municipal election is able to order an election to determine whether the city will participate in the retirement plan. If a majority of the votes cast at an election favor participation, the governing body must arrange to have the city included in the statewide program.

The statute permits the consolidation of any existing firemen's relief and retirement funds with the new

municipal retirement system, if the fire department employees so elect and the consent of the employing municipality is obtained.

The plan is to be financed jointly by employee and city contributions, each based on a percentage of employee earnings. In addition, each participant must contribute one dollar per year for the operating expenses of the system. Eight separate funds are provided. Retirement is mandatory at the age of 70 years, but employees may retire at 55 provided they meet other requirements of the law. In addition to retirement benefits, the statute provides for disability benefits as well as retirement benefits, determined in each case by the annuities which can be provided from contributed funds and accumulated earnings.

While the legislation was designed to provide a sound pension system for any city or town within the state, it will be especially beneficial to the hundreds of smaller municipalities which otherwise, because of a small number of employees, could not operate a sound and economical retirement system.

STUART A. MACCORKLE, *Director*
Bureau of Municipal Research
University of Texas

Kansas School Districts Reorganized Further

A 1947 revision of the Kansas common school district reorganization law may reduce the number of school districts in the state from a former 6,000 to only 3,000. The reorganization law of 1945 already has lowered the number of school districts from 8,000 to 6,000.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Editor*
Kansas Government Journal

New York Ban on Primary "Raids" Upheld

The so-called Wilson-Pakula law adopted this year in New York State, restricting primary nominations to enrolled party members, with certain exceptions, was upheld on May 13 by Justice Bookstein of the Supreme Court, Albany County. It had been challenged as an unconstitutional limitation on the rights of voters. The court pointed out that non-party persons can become nominees for election not only by write-ins but also by action of party committees.

Veterans Are 42 Per Cent of Federal Employees

Veterans are rapidly displacing non-veterans in federal government jobs, according to recent reports cited by the Civil Service Assembly. At the end of January there were 823,432 veterans of both world wars working for the federal government, or 42 per cent of the total of 1,969,698 federal employees. In January 1946 there were 2,405,985 federal employees, only 619,192 of whom were veterans—male or female.

Louisiana Prepares Draft of New Constitution

The legislature of Louisiana has directed the Louisiana Law Institute to prepare a draft of a new state constitution to be submitted to a convention tentatively scheduled for 1949.

New Internships in Public Administration

The School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California announces several new part-time internships or assistantships in public administration. From three to eight are in administrative analysis, in cooperation with local governmental agencies in the Los Angeles area; five

(Continued on page 345)

Researcher's Digest . . . . Edited by John E. Bebout

State and Local Planners Look to the Future

Utilities, Industry, Zoning Suburban Trend Considered

MORE AND more consideration is being given to the economy and social implications of municipal life in the development of a physical planning program," finds the **California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission**, A. Earl Washburn, director, in *California Reports on Planning*, 67 pages. Statistics of the extent of planning and examples of the work of planning commissions in cities, counties and the state are given, together with a roster of all city, county and state planning commissions.

"The United States is dotted with cities-that-were and cities-that-might-have-been. Their shabbiness, the exodus of their young people are the tell-tale clues to their failure. A community's fate, to a large extent, is in the hands of all its people. What they do with it is their own business." This is the conclusion reached by the State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission in *Forecasting a City's Future, Sacramento, California*, by Van Beuren Stanbery and Miriam Roher. This study does not see economic growth as springing from the total number of factories but rather from the interrelationships of all segments of the community and from the effect of nation-wide trends and pressures upon Sacramento.

"Planning—Its Future in Utica" is considered a two-fold proposition by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of Utica**, William R. Coates, executive director, in a recent number of *Your City*. The report stresses the necessity for an adequately staffed city planning commission and shows the importance of relating physical planning and financial planning in order to make the city a pleasant place in which to live and to provide a place in which to work. A long range financial plan should incorporate the pay-as-you-go plan of operation and reduce the property tax, thereby encouraging home ownership and industrial development.

Why do people move from the core of a city to its fringe and from the fringe into the rural area and what conditions provide the most attractive environment for the rural dweller? A cross-section of opinion on these questions has been collected by the **Milwaukee County Regional Planning Department**, E. A. Howard, planning director, and presented in a 29-page study of *Residential Development in the Unincorporated Areas of Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.*

The zoning committee of the **Houston Chamber of Commerce**, Milton H. McGinty, chairman, conducted a survey among cities of Houston's population class in an effort to determine the effectiveness of zoning in those communities. It is shown in a series of three pamphlets, entitled *What Other Cities Say About Zoning*, that zoning has provided sound, stable growth, stabilized property values and helped to evolve a master plan for growth and development.

The use of public funds for subsidies to industry is both unconstitutional and unsound in Tennessee, according to a sixteen page report, *Subsidies for Industry in Tennessee*, by the **Tennessee State Planning Commission**, Hayden B. Johnson, executive director.

Communities, primarily small ones, by granting tax abatements and issuing bonds in order to attract industries, the report points out, have suffered losses in revenues and created the need for increased expenditures for public improvements.

A second report by the Tennessee Commission is *Local Planning in Tennessee 1945-1946*, 76 pages, one of a series of brief histories published annually, showing the gradual growth and expansion of community planning activities throughout the state. A model municipal planning ordinance, a typical local planning assistance agreement, a list of reports relating to the local assistance programs, a list of local planning commissions and sixteen illustrations and maps are included.

Planning Water and Sewerage Systems for the Small Community is the subject of a third Tennessee Planning Commission report. A city will not attract new residents or new industries until it can offer a safe and adequate water supply and a satisfactory means of removing its sewage, states the report. The study reports on the various methods of financing and planning for such improvements.

A *Coordination of the Permit and License Issuing Functions of the Los Angeles City Government* is necessary, declares the Municipal and County Government Section of **Town Hall in Los Angeles**, Dr. John M. Pfiffner, chairman, to prevent delay in the building program caused by the plethora of municipal "regulations, restrictions and procedures" relating to building and development of property.

Traffic Jam as Usual

The *Los Angeles Traffic and Transit Problem* is presented by the Regional Planning and Development Section of **Town Hall in Los Angeles**, Arthur B. Gallion, chairman, in an effort to explain to the citizens in broad and simple terms the many elements making up the traffic problem.

A summary of the proposed "Traffic and Transit Improvement Program" is outlined in a recent *Research Bulletin* by the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, Alfred F. Smith, director. The program developed by the Administrative Transportation Planning Council is "but the first step the city must take to bring its transportation facilities up to contemporary standards."

The "Parking Merry-go-round" is discussed in a recent number of *Citizens Business* issued by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, Robert Kenneth Sawyer, director. While several surveys have been made of the city's parking needs, responsibility for carrying out recommendations is not being fixed and adequate funds for detailed plans and estimates are not being provided.

In another issue, the Philadelphia bureau attacks the "Highway Headache" in urban areas as "a major concern to the city and a major problem to the state." Either the "state highway department must be organized to meet the problems peculiar to cities" or responsibility for urban roads must be placed with the cities and financed by grants-in-aid from the state.

Parking Meter Service in Kansas, issued by the **League of Kansas Municipalities**, John G. Stutz, executive director, surveys the number, installation units, revenue collection and uses, and public acceptance of parking meters in Kansas.

Reports on This and That—Safety, Welfare, Finances

The **Bureau of Public Administration, University of Washington**, Donald

H. Webster, director, has issued *Community Safety*, a report of the proceedings of the safety section of the eleventh annual institute of government, 1946. The papers by persons actively engaged in safety work carry expert reports on various safety problems including traffic, on the job safety, the causes and preventions of accidents and fire prevention. The paper on traffic safety through modern lighting techniques, by J. W. Bollong, traffic engineer of the city of Seattle, contains a considerable amount of technical information illustrated by charts.

The **North Carolina League of Municipalities** has issued *Municipal Fire Department Service to Areas Outside Corporate Limits*, by George C. Franklin and James E. Tucker. The demand made for this service has become a financial and administrative problem, "aggravated by the rapid development of suburban areas and increased demand by the public for fire protection which would result in lower insurance rates." One solution recommended is a city-county contract which would create a special fire district embracing the area around the city limits.

"Public Welfare Costs Climb," reports the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** in a recent *Bulletin*. "Indigent aid requirements exceed estimates made only a month ago." Both the state and city budgets for welfare administration have been raised and provision has been made for increased state aid to counties in the event of a depression.

"The Effect of State Aid on the 1947 Cost of the City Health Department" is set forth in *Research Brevities* of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research**, George L. Nichols, managing director. While it might be inferred that the cost of the city health department increased because of the necessity to qualify for reimbursement by the state, the report points out that this was not the case in 1947 and that the increased budget is due to increases in local costs.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** devotes one of its bulletins to the department of public works, its organization, activities and responsibilities. Several other issues of *Citizens' Business* deal with some of the aspects of the water problem.

The **Utah Foundation**, Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director, "established to study and to encourage the study of taxation and the effect of state and local governmental costs upon the economy of Utah," has issued a considerable number of reports since its organization in 1945. Brief factual digests of at least eighteen surveys are available, the full reports on which can be obtained by non-members for one dollar. Among the subjects dealt with are *State of Utah Expenditures, Utah State Revenues, Assessed Valuation of Utah and School Districts, Earmarking of State Revenues in Utah, Unemployment Compensation in Utah 1936-1946, Public Welfare in Utah, Utah State Government Finances 1937-1946, Utah State Fish and Game Department 1917-1946, Financing State Highways 1925-1945, Traffic, Mileage, and Surfaces of Highways in Utah, Utah's Old Age Assistance Program, Utah's Program for Aid to Dependent Children, The Utah Department of Publicity and Industrial Development*, and *Utah's Sales and Use Tax*.

Financing Education—State Aid vs. Local Taxes

"No function of local government is more important to the community and to the taxpayer. No other single activity of local government costs so much or affects so many." Emphasizing the importance of education as a function

of government, the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, devotes an issue of its *Newsletter* to "The State and the Schools, a Review of the Workings of Act 403." This 1945 act "made some rather comprehensive changes in the distribution of state assistance to the schools." Since there has been much agitation in the state legislature to alter parts of the act, the league reviews the actual experience of school districts under the act in order to get legislative action based upon accurate information.

"What About Teacher Salaries and School Subsidies in Pennsylvania?", asks the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce,** Leonard P .Fox, general secretary. Recognizing education as an "investment in people," the chamber favors protecting that investment.

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, in *News and Views—Your State and Local Government,* cites "Further Considerations of an Equitable State Aid Program for Education." The council recommends that each town's contribution be based on assessment at a fair market value at the same millage rate and the difference between that contribution and "a predetermined amount per pupil for school operations" be paid by the state. The council points out in "Obstacles to a Sound State Aid Program" that after analyzing the seventeen different types of educational grants the state has, "it would seem high time to discard . . . all the limitations and inconsistencies inherent in the existing grant structure, to redefine the objectives to be sought, and to develop a completely new program which is logical and which will furnish a solid foundation upon which to build in the future."

The **Department of Governmental Affairs, Dayton Chamber of Commerce,** John R. Kerstetter, manager, reports in *Dayton Government Digest* on increased state aid to schools and local governments for adequate teacher compensation and for increasing the school foundation program.

"Much Higher Costs in City Schools," headlines a recent issue of the *Iowa Taxpayer,* organ of the **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe E. Long, executive secretary. City high school costs have risen 8.28 per cent and town schools 14.94 per cent since the fiscal year ending June 30, 1945.

San Francisco's elementary school operation, figured on the basis of cost per pupil in average daily attendance, is the highest in California and California ranks second among the states for school expenditures, reports the **San Francisco bureau** in a recent *Research Bulletin.*

Providence may again fail to assess population trends properly if it increases its school room capacity or teaching staff on the basis of enrollment despite the Providence City Planning Commission forecast of a decrease in the number of people living in Providence, according to the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, which discusses this problem in a recent bulletin entitled "Population Trends and Education Policies."

The **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau,** James J. Kirkwood, director, discusses "Constitutional Tax Limitation and the City School District" in *Comments.* It is recommended that a percentage of the entire amount of educational costs be included in the 2 per cent tax limitation on real estate so that property owners will have some protection from a "completely uncontrolled school tax rate."

An analysis by towns of the highest, lowest and average school district tax

rates in Erie County is presented in a recent issue of *Just a Moment* issued by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, George G. Sipprell, managing director.

Attacking the "groundless opposition" to the Chicago school superintendent bill which provides for a chief executive officer to administer the board of education's policies, the **Chicago Civic Federation**, Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, points out that the results of such legislation would "provide in the Chicago public school system the same normal administrative responsibilities which characterize the organization of business, or most of the large school districts and of other school districts in Illinois."

The Apathetic Voter and His Ballot

The "Apathy of Los Angeles Voters is Cause for Concern", says **Government Research of Los Angeles**, in a recent *Monthly Bulletin*. Although Los Angeles' population has increased, a decrease in the number of registered voters, one-third of whom usually exercise their voting power in city elections, can result in a council elected by 3½ per cent of the population of the city.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Toronto**, H. L. Brittain, managing director, urges in a *Monthly Letter* that electors get out the vote because "democracy does not consist in the number of elections or in the number of persons elected, but in the measure of control of public affairs by the voters." In a later letter, the bureau analyzes the "Voting Record at the Civic Election of 1947," in which only 36 out of every 100 possible votes were cast, in order to develop some facts which "might have more influence on chronic non-voters."

The Direct Primary in New Mexico, by Paul Beckett and Walter L. McNutt, has been issued by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico**. This study provides a description and analysis of the system of nomination in use in New Mexico. Despite some necessary improvements, the direct primary is supported by and gives greater control to the people of the state and, in time, the authors feel, better nominees will be selected by the people than would be by a small group of politicians under the old convention system.

Voting Machines, a proposed plan for their complete installation in Montgomery County, Ohio, 38 pages, has been prepared by the **Dayton Chamber of Commerce** in an effort to determine how many machines are needed, where they will be used, and the extent of savings which can be effected.

Legislative Councils Issue Annual Reports

The **Illinois Legislative Council**, Jack F. Isakoff, director, in its *Annual Report for 1946* reiterates the statement made by the Council of State Governments that, "Certain it is that no other legislative device in the history of our state governments has made such rapid progress in the favor of state legislators in such a short space of time." The council aided three-fourths of the members of the legislature during 1946 and supplied factual material for interim commissions, legislative committees, and other state agencies. The report outlines briefly the major studies completed during the year and gives some indication of those in progress.

Two 1946 studies are *Collecting Delinquent Property Taxes*, which compares Illinois methods for enforcing payment of taxes on realty with provisions in other states, and *State Regulation of*

Firearms, which discusses Illinois law in relation to the conflict between the "constitutional guarantee of the right to bear arms and the desirability of limiting freedom to possess firearms so as to control the most likely abuses."

The **Connecticut Legislative Council,** Joseph P. Egan, research director, has reported on its 1946 activities. Twenty-five pages are devoted to a progress report of the committee on legislative procedure.[1] The status of 1944 and 1945 recommendations is outlined and action to carry out partially or completely unfulfilled recommendations in these reports is proposed. Among the subjects of subcommittee reports of the council outlined in the Legislative Council report are Professional and Vocational Licensing, State Employees' Retirement Plan, Veterans Bonus, Taxation of Pleasure Automobiles, Special Legislation. The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** assisted in the research on special legislation. An appendix containing a report by the committee appointed to study the problem of the criminally insane is included.

Another record of achievement is the **Maryland Legislative Council's** *Report to the General Assembly of 1947,* James J. Lindsay, chairman. Between June 1, 1945, and December 4, 1946, 78 sessions of the council were held during which 186 proposals or sets of proposals were received from the legislature, the governor, official commissions and private organizations. The bills resulting from these suggestions are listed. The minutes of the council's sessions are included in the report. In two separate volumes the council has published the texts of all *Proposed Bills Submitted to the General Assembly of 1947* together with a brief explanation of the purpose of all the bills recommended.

[1]See February 1947 *Review,* page 100.

Strictly Personal

Dr. Edwin A Cottrell, recently retired as head of the department of political science at Stanford University, has been elected a trustee of the Haynes Foundation of Los Angeles and will direct its studies in the field of local and metropolitan governments.

Dr. Charlton F. Chute has resigned as director of the St. Louis Governmental Research Institute to become director of the Pennsylvania Economy League, Inc., Philadelphia Division. **Victor Brannon,** formerly assistant director of the institute, has been appointed to succeed Dr. Chute.

Robert K. Sawyer, formerly lieutenant colonel in the engineers corps, United States Army, took over the directorship of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research on March 17, succeeding Dr. William C. Beyer who had resigned to take a position on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.[1] For the past year, Mr. Sawyer had been the bureau's senior engineer. In that capacity he prepared the report, *Philadelphia's Water Supply.*

R. E. Chislett, II, has moved from his position as director of the Department of Governmental Affairs of the Trenton, New Jersey, Chamber of Commerce, to the Newark Chamber of Commerce, where he is assistant to the executive vice president.

G. Keyes Page, formerly director of the Genessee County (New York) Taxpayers Association, has been made vice president and ex officio member of the board of directors and the executive committee of that organization.

[1]See the REVIEW, March 1947, page 159.

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Students Meet Rebuffs in County Studies

Noncooperative Officials Make Research Difficult

ONE OF the fundamentals usually stressed by political scientists is the need for an alert citizenry and the importance of an informed, intelligent and responsible interest in government affairs. In order to test the practicality of this hypothesis in one area of government, a class in county government and administration at **Berea College** undertook a county project during the first semester of the academic year 1946-47.

A first step was study of the general background of county government and its place in the American system, with *Government in Rural America,* by Lane W. Lancaster, as a textbook. A more specific introduction to county government in the southeastern states was secured from such publications as *County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States,* by the TVA, and the Kentucky Legislative Council's *County Consolidation.*

The twelve members of the class then undertook to become as well informed as possible about the government of their own counties. Published information was used only as a starting point, functions and problems were stressed, and grading was done partly on the student's ingenuity in handling the assignments.

The most significant result of this experiment was the conclusion that a thorough knowledge of the organization and operation of the government of one's own county can be obtained only with great difficulty. If the experience of Berea students was typical, actual functioning of specific rural counties in the southeastern states is largely an unexplored field. When we tell people they should be well informed about local government, we must recognize that we are asking them to face up to a task difficult to carry out in more than a superficial manner.

One student expressed the results of his investigations in this way:

1. The scarcity of publications of any sort written about the county;
2. The suspicion and skepticism apparent in the hesitancy of most officials to give even the appearance of cooperation to a student interested in unravelling the threads which hold the government together;
3. The unaffected attitudes of citizens toward malfunctions apparent to the most unobservant eye;
4. The overt disregard of laws which are common knowledge to any layman;
5. The dearth of qualified officials holding even the most important positions;
6. The hopeless outlook of the citizens for any improvement in the near future.

It must be said that there were many instances of cooperation in supplying information. The more typical experiences, however, were "two replies received from seven letters written to county officials"; county officers "not interested to any great extent in assisting me"; "the county judge referred me to the county attorney, I went to the county attorney and he referred me to the statutes, then I went to the sheriff and he referred me to the county attorney"; "I hardly

know which would be quicker, to change the government in my county or to find out just how it works"; "when I went to interview the county officials they were all very skeptical as to my purpose, and it was quite a task to convince them that a college woman was doing research in county government"; or "only the information already known will be given you, and the actual conditions are under lock and key."

A comparison of the student's reports makes it obvious that those most successful in obtaining realistic information about the functioning of their county government had a relative or friend able and willing to give them inside information on a personal basis. A conclusion would seem to be that more than a general knowledge of county government can be gained only by observation from an inside vantage point or by actual participation.

The students unearthed, of course, the usual type of information on the organization, problems and difficulties of county government. As for the teacher, there is one political scientist who has learned to speak less quickly and glibly about "the duty of every citizen to be well informed about his government," but who realizes even more keenly the importance of citizen participation in government, not just at the ballot box but in a continuing and vital way.

WILLARD N. HOGAN
Berea College

Detroit Bureau Organizes Panel on Public Opinion

A new service—public opinion sampling—has been inaugurated by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director. According to a recent issue of *Bureau Notes*: "The bureau's citizen panel was designed expressly for civic opinion measurement and is to be a continuing research project. An attempt will be made to gauge the thinking of the whole community on issues that are current, on issues that are specific. It is made possible by the cooperation, interest and concern of a cross-section group of Detroit's voters who voluntarily formed the panel."

Continuing, the bulletin comments: "The voting process seldom provides a clear, unqualified answer to the specific issues confronting government from time to time. True, there are other mirrors reflecting public attitudes—capable newspaper reporting, activities of special interest groups and the complaints of individuals. However, none of these agencies pretend to represent the views of the citizen aggregate. Scientific opinion sampling can best perform this function."

In the first sampling "barometer" questions were asked to test citizen rating of the city and state governments. Returns were received from over 2,400 registered voters. Questions included: At this time what is your opinion on the general, over-all kind of job the new state administration will do? What is your present opinion as to the over-all job being done by the city administration? Of the Detroit Street Railway? Of the garbage and rubbish collection activities of the sanitation division? Of the water department?"

The second poll had to do with public improvement plans. Citizen panel members were asked to give their opinions as to what improvements should be given priority and in what order. Additions and improvements to the receiving hospital were clearly established as Detroit's primary need with expressways, new schools, slum clearance and street paving following in that order. Improvements

to the zoo, a memorial hall, voting machines, library construction and a civic center found themselves at the bottom of the list.

Another poll asked citizen opinion on such matters of public policy as what action to take against city strikers? What types of state taxation should be enacted? Should the government or private interests construct and operate airports? If government, should it be city, county, metropolitan authority, state or federal government?

Young People Practice Democracy

Students representing over 50 Pennsylvania colleges and universities held a "model state legislature" at Harrisburg, April 19. Over 500 students attended the "legislative" sessions, which were held at the state capitol.

The "model legislature" conducted by the **Young Men's Christian Associations of New Jersey,** with the cooperation of **Princeton University** and state government officials, met at Trenton, April 18-19. Dr. John F. Sly of Princeton University was statewide chairman of the program and numerous state officials acted as "resource leaders" in committee discussions on bills. So that members of the "legislature" would have before them in convenient form all proposed bills with names of the "legislators" introducing them, the YMCA compiled and published a *Model Legislature Bill Book—1947.*

Over two hundred college students, representing the **Students' Committee on State Affairs of the Massachusetts Civic League,** Miriam Butler, executive secretary, attended a hearing before the senate committee on constitutional law on three bills which would lower the voting age to eighteen. Several students spoke in support of the measures but others were against them.

Radcliffe College students served as usherettes at a public forum in Cambridge on the Plan E form of government — council-manager plan with proportional representation for the election of the council.

The **National Self Government Committee,** Sophia Pollack, secretary, founded in 1904 by the late Richard Welling "to advocate self government in schools, colleges and other youth groups as an essential for the training of American citizens," has added to its board of directors five "junior directors"—interested students representing Harvard, Cornell, Yale and New York University.

Writing in the *Stephens Standard,* a publication of **Stephens College,** Columbia, Missouri, on "Classroom Democracy That Works," Peggy Lou Malloy of Hawaii observes: "The secret of democratic classroom procedure lies in three words. The first is 'partnership,' partnership between teacher and class and partnership among the class members. The second word is 'planning'. Things don't just happen. Purposes are discussed, various possibilities of study are presented, worthwhile projects are suggested, relative values are weighed, individual interests and abilities are considered, programs of work are recommended, and a final plan is democratically approved or amended and put into action. The final key word is 'responsibility,' the individual's responsibility to himself as a learner and his responsibility to the group. And here lies the great strength—as well as the great value —of any educational method. Education's greatest contribution to democracy will be in the awakening and developing of an intelligent sense of responsibility. Only such inner compulsion and initiative can guarantee progress and improvement."

Citizenship Day

In accordance with President Truman's proclamation of March 1, Citizenship Day or, as it is sometimes designated, "I Am an American Day," was celebrated on May 18 in many communities throughout the country. The United States Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, is endeavoring to assemble information on the programs. It has distributed a questionnaire asking the name of the community, nature of the observance, chief sponsor, estimated attendance and special features presented. Copies of the program and newspaper clippings reporting the celebration are also requested.

* * *

Citizen Leadership Program

The **National Training School for Public Service** announces its *1947-1948 William Volker Program in Citizen Leadership and Public Administration* (20 pages). The program is carried on in conjunction with the **School of Public Affairs of Wayne University** and the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.** Chief aim of the school is "to provide the facilities necessary for the training of men of exceptional ability and capacity for leadership: for professional service with citizen agencies concerned with government including research bureaus, taxpayer groups, citizen leagues, chambers of commerce, labor unions, and community chests; for effective participation in community action and practical politics; and for administrative positions in the public service." The school, directed by Dr. Lent D. Upson, offers ten or more fellowships of $1200, plus tuition and fees if not otherwise provided, for the year September 1947 to August 1948.

Citizenship Conference

The **Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association,** Earl T. Hawkins, chairman, held its second national conference on citizenship in Boston, May 8 to 10. Mr Hawkins cites two major reasons for calling the conferences: "that working together we may be able to better utilize our forces in moving America forward in the theories and the practices of democratic citizenship; that we may discuss with each other the programs of the various organizations represented at the conference and after learning of their experiences better plan the practices of our own."

* * *

County Government Scholarship

Stimulating interest in county government is the objective of a scholarship offered to seniors in the public high schools of Virginia by the **League of Virginia Counties** and the **National Association of County Officials** in cooperation with the **University of Virginia.** The scholarship is adequate for a full college education and will be awarded for "high scholastic standing, outstanding citizenship, and knowledge of county government." Decision on the last-named condition will be based on a thesis written by the applicant on the government of his own county.

* * *

Primary Control

Concerned over proposed legislation which would remove primaries from state control, the **Florida Voters' League,** Edwin L. Clarke, secretary, polled its members on the question, "Should the state leave to political parties full control over primaries?" An overwhelming number of those replying—97 per cent—were opposed to such a proposition. The league has therefore been actively engaged in combatting the measure before the

legislature and has issued eight reasons why it should be defeated.

* * *

Wanted—Efficient Cities

"A 4½ million dollar business needs a 'manager,'" says *Tax Topics*, published by the **Manchester (New Hampshire) Taxpayers Association**, John J. Gaines, executive secretary. "Our point is this: your city government is a big business. It requires expert business administration. It needs a president and a board of directors which, of course, is its mayor and board of aldermen. Your city needs the full-time knowledge, experience and capabilities of an administrative executive —which in this case is a city manager."

The executive committee of the **Central Atlanta Improvement Association**, Clark E. McDonald, executive vice president, has voted unanimously in favor of the appointment of a citizens charter commission to draft a new city charter within two years to replace the present Atlanta document of 1874.

* * *

Civic Groups Meet

Members of the **Detroit Citizens League**, William P. Lovett, executive secretary, listened to Paul H. Reynolds, executive director of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers' Alliance**, at the league's 35th annual meeting. Mr. Reynolds discussed what's wrong with Detroit and other cities.

The **Yonkers (New York) Committee of 100**, of which Warren Spooner is president, heard the city's Mayor Curtiss E. Frank deliver an address on the city administration at its annual meeting this spring.

The **Hamilton (Ohio) Woman's City Club** was addressed by Mayor William Beckett on "Women's Civic Responsibility." The mayor was introduced by Mrs. Paul Mitchell of the club's charter committee. The great power vested in the council under the city's manager—P. R. charter, and the importance of selecting the right persons for office, were stressed by Mayor Beckett. "The office of councilman is a grave responsibility, one not to be taken lightly," he said. "All municipal laws are made by council. The city manager is a paid employee and has no voice in determining policy. . . . It is vital to populate council with the proper representatives. . . . Have you fully informed yourselves as to the candidates for whom you have voted?"

* * *

Juvenile Delinquency

The **National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency**, meeting in November 1946 at the call of Attorney General Tom C. Clark, has issued its *Report on Community Coordination* and *Report of Citizen Participation Panel* (Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.). "The success of a program to prevent juvenile delinquency, and to treat it when it occurs," comments the latter pamphlet, "rests upon citizen understanding and participation. . . Citizen planning and participation is the essence of a sound community in which delinquency would be an inconsistency. . . . The responsibility, as well as the right to participate actively in community activities, must be accepted by the people of the community."

The Social Welfare Committee of the **Chicago City Club**, William H. Haight, president, is considering a proposal to establish an Illinois Youth Commission or Authority to aid in reducing juvenile delinquency and provide a program for the development of healthy, useful citizens.

Help for the Community

A Service to Small Communities (six pages) describes the services made available by **Community Service, Inc.**, Arthur E. Morgan, president, Yellow Springs, Ohio. The organization supplies speakers and leaders for discussion groups and maintains a consultant service for local groups, business organizations, churches, schools and others interested in community development.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president and secretary of the Minneapolis Civic Council since 1939, has resigned to become manager of the Minneapolis division of Encyclopedia Britannica. Mr. Seed is president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries.

Colonel Robert W. Chamberlin, director of the Cleveland Citizens League, has resigned to become executive secretary of the Cuyahoga County Republican Finance Committee. **Robert D. Fleischer**, assistant director and editor of the league's *Greater Cleveland*, has been appointed acting director.

Lyman Beecher Stowe has been elected chairman of the board of directors of the National Self Government Committee, succeeding the late **Richard Welling**, founder of the organization and its chairman for many years. **Robert Littell** has been elected chairman of the committee and **Dr. Julius Yourman**, vice chairman.

The executive committee of the Massachusetts Civic League has selected **Hon. Richard S. Bowers** as president of the league. From 1939 to 1946 Mr. Bowers was a member of the Massachusetts state senate.

A. F. Metz of Rutherford has been elected president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association. He succeeds **Walter T. Margetts, Jr.**, who has been president of the association for the past five years. Mr. Margetts will continue as a member of the board of directors.

William H. Cunningham has been appointed executive director of the Woonsocket (Rhode Island) Taxpayers Association.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 333)

are for research assistants for the Delinquency Control Institute; and two to four are in personnel administration under the supervision of personnel directors of cities and counties. These carry stipends of about $90 per month. Four to eight are as assistants to staff members of planning agencies with stipends of about $110.

These are in addition to various research fellowships and assistantships in public administration previously made available.

Local Governments Represented in Conference

Representatives of research agencies, local government associations and political science teachers of high schools and colleges met in April at their fourth semi-annual Kansas Conference on Government Information and Instruction Services. "Laboratory techniques of teaching Kansas state and local government" was the theme of this session.

Delegates attending the conference included representatives of The League of Kansas Municipalities, Kansas County Commissioners Association, Kansas Association of School Boards, governmental research departments, and the Kansas State Teachers Association.

JOHN G. STUTZ, *Editor*
Kansas Government Journal

Proportional Representation • • *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Battle Lines Form in New York Cities

Long Beach to Vote Again Petitions Out in Yonkers

WHILE hopeful campaigns proceed to get P. R. and the manager plan for Boston and other Massachusetts cities, political opponents of P. R. in Yonkers and Long Beach have taken advantage of the publicity on the repeal attempt in nearby New York City, reported in this department last month, to launch attacks in their cities also.

In Long Beach the city council on April 18 voted three to two to put a repeal proposal on the ballot at a special election June 17. Voting for the repeal were the two Democratic organization members, Jack Karp and Frank J. Leik, and the one Republican, Frank Barbieri, who could not have been elected without P. R. and does not necessarily represent his party in opposing it. Voting against repeal were Ralph Weiss, independent Democrat elected with the support of the nonpartisan Long Beach Citizens Union, and Louis J. Fuchs, representative of the American Labor party and president of the council.

As soon as the referendum was fixed by the council, petitions were put in circulation by the Citizens Union and the American Labor party to postpone it to the general election in November. Under a unique provision of the New York city home rule law a petition signed by 10 per cent of those who voted in the city in the last election for governor can always secure such a postponement and thus avoid the expense and usually small vote that a special election entails. Nearly twice the required number of signatures was filed in Long Beach. If the petition is found sufficient as expected, Long Beach will elect its second council under P. R. at the same time that it votes on the question of repeal.

A similar repeal attempt was voted down in Long Beach two years ago, before the first P. R. council was elected. The Democratic organization had a 100 per cent monopoly of the last council elected by the old plan and would like to turn the clock back.

In Yonkers petitions have been put in circulation to place the repeal of P. R. on the ballot at the fall election. If the petitions are signed and filed, Yonkers voters will have an opportunity to reaffirm or reverse the judgment they expressed on P. R. in 1942 when they endorsed that feature of their charter by a two-to-one vote, defeating the repeal efforts of both major party organizations.

Editorial Support

This time the Republican organization may not be in opposition, since it helped to elect all the members of the present good government majority of the council. The nature of the opposition to P. R. and the principal reasons for it are described elsewhere in this issue in the article, "The Politician Hates P. R.," by Oxie Reichler, editor of the city's only large newspaper, the *Herald Statesman*.

Answering theoretical objections to P. R. the *Herald Statesman* on April 18 said editorially:

Here no "tiny" minority has won

any council elections. On the contrary, the Republican-City Manager forces elected three councilmen, having mustered 60 per cent of the votes, while the Democrats—with 40 per cent—got two councilmen.

That is real representation in proportion to the people's political alignments. It was a fair and accurate reflection of party registration and of public opinion. Nobody here got fragmented or atomized.

The *Herald Statesman* on April 21 took issue with two New York newspapers which had given currency to a hoary canard about P. R. that probably owes its origin to a practice that makes sense enough under certain other systems of election but has no applicability to P. R. It says:

Both the *News* and the *World Telegram* fall for a more or less widespread impression that the Communists somehow gained an unfair advantage by using P. R. in some mysterious and super-efficient way. What they and other misguided critics mean by the power of "smart, tightly organized minority groups" is that there is a way of casting "bullet votes" for their candidate only—voting for no others—and thereby giving an advantage to these concentrated ballots.

Despite the misguided editorial writers and political party speakers, this is simply not true. It is a fake argument. And every Yonkers voter who has used P. R. knows it's a phoney statement.

Bullet voting under P. R. is unintelligent voting. To mark one choice and stop is to defeat one's own choice under P. R. The more choices a voter makes, the more likely is his ballot to be effective. If he makes but one choice, his ballot is more likely to be exhausted, and therefore wasted.

We earnestly recommend to the *New York Times,* the *New York Daily News* and the *New York World Telegram* that they try to do a better job of informing their readers about P. R. . . . We suggest that these newspapers print the detailed election results, which few if any New York newspapers do.

When the newspapers have done their educational job, and are so well informed that they can speak clearly and intelligently about P. R. to their readers, we doubt that there will be either confusion or misunderstanding—and we doubt that any good citizen, or any good newspaper, would line up with those that want the repeal of P. R.

Times Prints Answers to Editorial

The *New York Times,* which printed an editorial on April 2 opposing P. R., subsequently printed two letters in reply. One was signed by Herbert Pell, who has had 35 years' experience in American politics, having served as a member of Congress from Manhattan, Democratic state committee chairman, minister to Hungary and Portugal, member of an international commission, and in other important capacities. His letter, printed May 2, states:

"I was surprised to see the *Times* opposing P. R. in the city. I should rather have seen the *Times* supporting its extension throughout the state. . .

"My considered opinion is that the greatest weaknesses of our system are public apathy and the unrepresentative character of most of our elective bodies. Beginning with the Congress of the United States, the smallest number of Democrats elected in 40 years was 125; the smallest number of Republicans was 90. Together, this group constitutes about

half of the house and no matter which party is in power, controls all important chairmanships.

Not Elected by People

"Not one of these men, Republicans or Democrats, was really elected by the people. Of 150 assembly districts in New York State, at least 100 have not changed their party in 30 years.

"The same thing was true of our old board of aldermen. The experiment of proportionate representation in New York City has resulted in the election of a city council far superior in every way to the old board of aldermen, and above all it has made every vote of importance. No person going to the polls of the City of New York and voting for a councilman need feel that his vote is useless or that it may be more or less important than that of a man living on the other side of the street.

"The objection to P. R. does not come from the people. It comes from the political leaders who want a body subservient to themselves and which they can control. As a general rule they thrive on public apathy.

"Competition may or may not be the life of trade, but it is certainly the life of good government. Any New Yorker can see this very clearly when he considers our governors in the last 50 years. What sure Republican state has produced such governors as Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Evans Hughes and Nathan Miller? What Democratic state can equal Alfred E. Smith, Franklin Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman?

"The avowed reason for the destruction of P. R. in New York City is obviously not the desire of political organizations to control an elected and supposedly representative body. We are told that there are two Communists on the board and that we must at all costs prevent Communists from being represented or their party having any place on the ballots. This is nonsense which must be manifest to any person who remembers prohibition. Every person in New York who voted before the First World War remembers that the Prohibition party always ran a complete ticket.

Anti-Saloon League

"In the early 90's a man in Ohio started the Anti-Saloon League, which was very soon managed by Wayne Wheeler. Wheeler was about the most astute operative who has appeared in American politics in 50 years. The members of the Anti-Saloon League did not include half of the country's Prohibitionists, but by their coordination and the acute intelligence of their leaders they were able in less than twenty years to control two-thirds of both houses of Congress and the legislatures of 46 out of 48 states.

"With this example before us, is it a wise thing to give the Communistic elements in the United States no political outlet except to follow the example of Wheeler? Three or 10 or even 15 per cent of the total vote of the country cast for a minor party will have no effect on our economic or political system. Five per cent dangled as a prize in every doubtful district may, with equally astute management and competent organization, achieve the control which Wheeler acquired.

"I should much rather see a real Republican party or a real Democratic party with the opinions of minor groups given ample opportunity to express their views outside of these organizations than to see two groups fishing for the support of a small minority. Among the great advantages of proportionate representation is that it reduces all pressure groups to their proper places."

(Continued on page 360)

County and Township . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Maryland County Secures Manager Plan

New Local Law Gives Anne Arundel Business Setup

THE Maryland state legislature has enacted a local law establishing the office of county business manager for Anne Arundel County (Annapolis) and abolishing the offices of budget supervisor and county roads engineer.[1]

The law specifies that the manager shall be appointed by the county commissioners solely upon the basis of his executive and administrative qualities. He need not be a county resident, he is to be appointed for an indefinite term, and when removed he has the right of public hearing.

The manager is given broad administrative jurisdiction. The law states: "This subtitle and all other relevant acts applying to Anne Arundel County shall be liberally construed with a view to enabling the board of county commissioners, the county business manager and all other county departments, offices and agencies to realize the maximum advantages to be attained from integrated management of the affairs of the county."

As chief executive and executive secretary to the board, the manager has power of appointment and removal (except over the police and the liquor license commissioners), of budgeting, financial reporting, purchasing, supervision over roads and public works, and the performance of other administrative duties as directed. Revenues from road taxes must be spent in the district where collected, but gasoline tax revenues may be spent on a county-wide basis.

The act becomes effective June 1, 1947.

[1]See REVIEW, February 1947, page 109.

Montgomery County to Vote on Manager Charter

The Montgomery County, Maryland, charter board has issued a new proposed charter providing for the manager plan but varying in some significant details from the one defeated at the polls in 1944. It omits reference to nonpartisan elections and it provides for a council of seven rather than nine. It specifically exempts the powers of incorporated municipalities from the powers of the county council. Local legislation may be rejected by popular referendum. Instead of unpaid council members, the new proposal provides $20 per day but not more than $1800 per year is to be paid to any councilman.

The charter establishes departments of finance, public works and the county attorney's office, but the council is authorized to establish additional departments as needed. It also establishes corrupt practices provisions in regard to appointments, centralized purchasing for county departments and referenda on all bond issues.

It will be submitted to popular vote in 1948.

Tennessee Legislates for Counties

Tennessee's 95 counties received a considerable amount of attention by the 75th Tennessee General Assembly. There were enacted a few general laws applicable to all counties, including an act to enable them to borrow money to pay increased teachers' salaries for the school year 1946-1947. Another general act authorized cities to

transfer their school systems to counties. The legislature also reduced the counties' participation payments in the old age assistance, aid to dependent children and aid to the needy blind programs. Most county legislation, however, was in the form of private acts involving individual counties.[2]

The trend toward establishment of general sessions or trial courts to replace the old justice of peace courts continued in this session. Counties in which such courts were established include Anderson, Bedford, Campbell, Cocke, Hamblen, Maury, McMinn, Rutherford, Robertson and Sullivan.

McMinn is the county in which the "Battle of Athens" took place last year. In addition to action taking judicial functions away from justice of peace courts, legislation also was passed establishing a modified county manager government for McMinn County.[3] Under this legislation the county court, constitutional governing body of the county, was retained, but it was deprived of all powers and duties that could be taken away from it under the state constitution, leaving to it only such powers as setting the tax rate and filling the offices of coroner and ranger.

The McMinn manager law follows closely the plan that has been in effect in Hamilton County, Tennessee, for several years. That plan, although it does not cover all county functions and services, apparently has been satisfactory. Should McMinn County meet with similar success it can be expected that other counties will adopt the plan until the state constitution can be amended to provide more adequate systems of county government.[4]

Several Tennessee counties had the boundaries of their civil districts changed by this session of the legislature. Justices of the peace, who collectively constitute the county governing body, and constables are elected from civil districts. Frequently such legislation is passed to remove from office existing officials and to replace them by new officials named in the act to serve until the next election. Counties redistricted in 1947 include Anderson, Bradley, Clay, Carter, Hamblen, Knox, Overton, Polk and Unicoi.

The office of purchasing agent was established in Henderson, Madison, Sequatchie, Sullivan and Wilson Counties and a budget commission was set up in Hickman County. Other legislation established the offices of county attorney, county judge and county board of education in specified counties. A county service officer was created in Anderson County.

Many of the private acts involved salaries and fees of county officials, changes in boundary lines between counties and other matters local in nature.

M. H. Satterfield
Tennessee Valley Authority

[2]For an account of private acts authorizing bond issues see page 353.

[3]See the Review, September 1946, page 435; January 1947, page 50; March 1947, page 169; April 1947, page 224.

[4]See "County Government and Constitutional Revision in Tennessee," by M. H. Satterfield, *Tennessee Law Review*, February 1947, pages 707-717.

County Home Rule Fight Revived in Michigan

Several proposed constitutional amendments have been introduced in the Michigan state legislature permitting major reform in county government. A resolution introduced in the senate specifically authorizes Wayne County to adopt the manager plan. The Michigan Institute of Local Gov-

ernment is sponsoring a constitutional amendment providing for alternative forms of government for all counties.

Unified Purchasing by County Saves 20 Per cent

King County (Seattle), Washington, taxpayers saved more than 20 per cent last year on purchases of supplies for local government units through services of its new county purchasing department. During 1946, the department's first full year of operation, central purchasing saved $53,000 on thirteen major items alone including gasoline, tires, milk, printing and drugs. These items cost about $250,000, or about one-fifth of the $1,300,000 spent for purchases last year.

The King County centralized purchasing act provides that any contract or purchase over $1000 must be advertised in the county's official paper and that intention to purchase lesser items must be posted in advance. In practice bids are requested on virtually all purchases.

County Forests Reach Saturation Point

Wisconsin reports that it now has approximately 2,000,000 acres in county forests. This exceeds considerably the federal and state government holdings in the state. Counties are authorized to receive ten cents an acre in state aid for development, planting and management of forests, but present appropriations will not permit further expansion of county forests unless accompanied by severe pro-rating of available funds.

New York Association of Towns Holds 1947 Meeting

The New York State Association of Towns recently held its 1947 annual meeting in Albany. Highlight of the meeting was the model town board meeting in which the trials and tribulations of town officials were presented in entertaining fashion.

Iowa Adopts County Assessor System

Iowa's township assessment system will be replaced January 1, 1948, by a county assessor system just established by the state legislature. Under the new plan the elected county auditor will become the ex-officio county assessor. Trained assessors working under the supervision of the auditor will be chosen on the basis of examination conducted by the state tax commission. Positions of 1600 township assessors, nearly all elective, are abolished by the new measure. A county board of review to hear appeals and adjust valuation is provided. Its members will be chosen by county supervisors, school authorities and mayors of cities and towns in the counties. Cities with populations of 10,000 or more have the option of either coming under the county system or retaining their own city assessment systems.

South Dakota Aids County Roads

South Dakota has created a special division within its state highway department to assist counties in connection with the federal-aid secondary road program. The new division will aid the counties on surveys and plans and in working out other engineering problems. Counties availing themselves of the engineering service will be required to reimburse the department at cost because available funds will not be adequate to cover the additional expense. The service will be rendered only on request.

Oregon Doubles City Highway Aid

Plans for Shared Taxes Made in Other States

THE apportionment of Oregon's highway revenues to its cities was doubled by action of the 1947 legislature, which raised from 5 per cent to 10 per cent the amount of state collections to be returned to the cities. The cities had originally asked for 15 per cent.

Distribution is on the basis of population except that Portland receives credit for only two-thirds of its population and except that $250,000 of the cities' share is set aside for expenditure by the state highway commission within cities on streets not a part of the state highway system.

The allocation to the counties was increased from 15.7 per cent to 19 per cent.

The Oregon legislature also enacted a bill providing for submission to the voters in October of a proposal to enact a state sales tax, one-sixth of which will be returned to the cities. It also provided for adjustments in debt limits. In cities in low-valuation counties the ratio of assessed to full value may be computed at 60 per cent for establishing debt limits. The debt limit for self-liquidating sewer bonds was raised from 5 per cent of assessed valuation to 15 per cent.

Washington

In Washington all existing state aid appropriations were continued, according to a report on the legislature by the Association of Washington Cities in *Western City* (April 1947). Most important of these items now is an excise tax on liquor, imposed as an emergency measure during the war. More than eleven and a third million dollars was appropriated for the cities and counties from this source during the 1947-49 biennium, compared with nine million dollars in 1945-47.

Another important fiscal measure enacted will provide a state-operated, actuarially sound pension plan permitting retirement of municipal employees at half pay at specified ages, available to any city desiring to participate. Costs are expected to range between 5 and 10 per cent of the payroll depending on the extent of prior service costs that a city may desire to assume and the age of the employees involved. Changes were also made in the mandatory firemen's pension law.

Montana

In Montana cities were disappointed in their effort to secure a share of state liquor revenues when Governor Ford vetoed a bill which would have allocated 6 per cent of the state liquor excise tax to the cities, towns and counties. The allocations, estimated to aggregate about a million dollars annually, would have been available for general governmental purposes. Defeated by the legislature were measures which would have apportioned to local units part of the state revenue from slot machines and automobile licenses. Enacted, however, was a measure making city, town and county licenses for slot machines a prerequisite to state licensing.

Other laws enacted by the legislature affecting local finance increased the permissible property tax for library support, authorized cities and towns to purchase land for parking lots either inside or outside their

corporate limits, and raised to $1,000 the allowable city and town purchases without advertisement for bids.

New Mexico

A special feature of the recent legislative session in New Mexico was the service of a special tax advisory committee, appointed by Governor Mabry at the invitation of the legislature. The committee, composed of lay citizens, served in an advisory capacity with the finance committee of the two houses of the state legislature. The committee's recommendations, as reproduced in the *Bulletin* (April 1947) of the Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, related mainly to reduction of appropriations. It recommended, however, a readjustment in county and school property taxes and appropriation on a temporary basis of additional funds to schools pending a survey of school finances.

Tennessee[1]

Of the general legislation passed by the Tennessee legislature the one act receiving most attention was perhaps the sales tax. Tennessee joined the ever-growing number of states levying this type of tax by passing a 2 per cent retail sales tax effective June 1, 1947. This legislation had the support of the state educational groups and others since it provided the only source of funds for an increased educational program in the state.

The estimated annual return from the sales tax varies from $20,000,000 to as high as $35,000,000. The law provides that, of the first $20,000,000 received from this tax in any one year, 70 per cent shall be allocated for educational purposes in the same manner as other educational funds are allocated and used. Municipalities are to receive 12.5 per cent of the total tax collected and the department of public welfare is to receive 10 per cent of the first $20,000,000 collected to be used for aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, and old age assistance. The state sinking fund board receives 5 per cent of the $20,000,000 and 7.5 per cent of all collections above that amount to help finance the state building program. Counties, of course, share heavily in the portion of the tax allocated for educational purposes; in addition, they will receive 80 per cent of sales tax collections above the $20,000,000. This portion of the tax must be spent by the counties for education, aid to dependent children, aid to the needy blind, and old age assistance.

The Tennessee legislature passed several other acts dealing with changes in the state revenue system. Of more than passing interest was an act suspending further collection of state bridge tolls until March 1, 1951.

The state legislature also authorized the issuance of approximately $29,000,000 in state bonds for a state building program. Of this amount, $9,000,000 is for buildings for the department of institutions, $6,000,000 for University of Tennessee buildings and approximately $7,000,000 for buildings under the direction of the state department of education.

Public welfare legislation included an authorization to issue $2,000,000 in state bonds for the construction of state tuberculosis hospitals. Funds were also provided for the operation of such hospitals. Other welfare legislation included an increase in the maximum benefits to dependent children and the establishment of a program of vocational rehabilitation. Other legislation included establishment of a division of library services and archives and authorization of

[1]Information on Tennessee was reported by M. H. Satterfield of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

$1,500,000 in state bonds to provide a library and archives building.

A large number of the private acts passed for both cities and counties authorized or validated bond issues. For example, twenty separate private acts were passed authorizing Memphis to issue bonds totaling almost $32,000,000. Of this amount $5,250,000 was for school buildings while the remaining included funds for a city hall, a memorial building, sewers, streets, hospitals and other municipal purposes.

Davidson County was authorized to issue $5,500,000 in general purpose bonds while Knox County was authorized to issue $2,000,000 in bonds for school buildings and $4,000,000 for a joint city-county office and service building. Eleven acts were passed authorizing bond issues by Shelby County, totaling almost $8,000,000. Madison County was authorized to issue $2,500,000 in bonds for road construction and improvement.

Total bond authorizations for Tennessee cities and counties, contained in some 275 private acts, exceed $106,000,000, a sum almost equal to the present bonded indebtedness of these units excluding revenue bonds.

Kansas[2]

Schools in Kansas will receive a "shot in the arm" this October to aid in their present financial crisis. Some $2,400,000 will be distributed through new school-aid legislation.

Schools had already received more than $900,000 in March as the first of two semi-annual payments provided by previous legislation. The second payment, scheduled for September, is included in the new aid program. Assistance in the future will not be as large, but the extra funds appropriated in the swing to the new program were planned as additional support.

Funds from the state permanent school fund earnings will continue to be distributed through the counties to public schools. Two semi-annual allotments in 1946 from that fund distributed $368,930.

In total, appropriations of funds by the 1947 legislature amounted to $39,000,000. This marks an increase of 50 per cent over the amounts appropriated and allocated by any previous legislature. Financing more government and the increased cost of government was the principal work of this year's legislature.

[2]Information on Kansas reported by John G. Stutz, editor, *Kansas Government Journal.*

More Cities Raise Service Charges to Suburbs

An increasing number of cities are raising their charges to suburban localities for sewer and water services. According to information gathered for the 1947 *Municipal Yearbook,* published by the International City Managers' Association, of 459 cities over 10,000 reporting, 257 now charge higher rates outside than inside the city. Of 172 cities providing sewerage service to suburbs, 132 charge higher rates for users outside city limits.

Higher service charges for suburbs are becoming especially popular in major cities. Forty-four of the 57 cities over 100,000 population reporting charge higher rates for outside water service. The remaining thirteen charge the same rates to city and suburban users.

Outside water rates are double city rates in Buffalo, Fort Worth and Nashville. Suburban users pay 50 per cent more than city dwellers in Flint, New Orleans and Syracuse; 15 per cent more in San Francisco and Wichita; 10 per cent more in Dayton and Reading, Pennsylvania.

Among cities of 50,000 to 100,000

population, 27 cities charge higher water rates outside the city and fifteen charge the same. Outside water service charges are double the inside rate in Augusta, Georgia; Durham, North Carolina; and Saginaw, Michigan. In the 25,000 to 50,000 population group, 129 of 258 cities charge higher water rates to suburbanites than city dwellers.

Sewerage service charges follow the same pattern, with 32 cities over 100,000 charging out-of-city users for the service. Detroit charges outsiders twice as much for such service as it does city customers, while Flint charges 50 per cent more and Columbus 10 per cent more.

Scarsdale Informs Voters on Plans

A form of public finance reporting not often attempted or done well by American cities is that of informing the voters about financial proposals, as distinguished from reports about financial accomplishments.

A year ago the village of Scarsdale, in Westchester County, New York, issued a brief report explaining why the village board of trustees favored including in the budget an appropriation from current taxes to finance part of a proposed capital improvement program. This year the board, faced with the question as to whether or not the plan should be continued, has published a more comprehensive document, advancing the arguments pro and con and raising the question for determination with some degree of finality.

The 55-page brochure is entitled *Financing Postwar Construction Program of the Village of Scarsdale: Facts, Figures and Points of View.* It fully lives up to the promise of its title, both as to statistics and "points of view." Scarcely a page but contains at least one quotation from a letter or conversation with some citizen of the village on the point at issue, and the total effect is as though the reader had attended a town meeting of unusually well informed and serious citizens. Scarsdale's mayor, who submitted the report to the villagers, is H. Beach Carpenter, and the village manager is Reeves Newsom.

New Local Borrowing Tops Billion

Borrowing in 1947 by state and local governments of over one billion dollars for long-term purposes was assured by the end of April, when the state of Illinois successfully marketed $300,000,000 soldiers' bonus bonds—the largest single offering of state or municipal bonds to date. This raised to $1,085,087,320 the bond sales for the first four months of the year, as reported by the *Daily Bond Buyer.* In the first four months last year state and municipal bond issues totaled $326,248,686. This year's total included the Illinois bonds and $100,000,000 Michigan bonus bonds also.

Finance Officers Meet in New York

New sources of local revenue, marketing municipal bonds and other problems of municipal finance were examined at the 41st annual meeting of the Municipal Finance Officers Association held in New York on May 26-28.

Conference speakers included New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer; Carl Chatters, comptroller of the Port of New York Authority; John S. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank; Mabel L. Walker, executive director of the Tax Institute; and Thomas F. Holden, president of the F. W. Dodge Corporation.

Public Relations in British Cities

Consulting Committees Set Up by National Government

THE NEED for telling the citizen what the local authority is doing is almost universally recognized. In Great Britain official support for an adequate public relations policy is now furnished at the highest level by the setting up of a consultative committee on local government publicity by the Ministry of Health and the associations of local authorities. Charles Key, M. P., parliamentary secretary to the ministry, is chairman.

The high value set on its work by the government itself may be gauged from recent words of Herbert Morrison. Mr. Morrison urged Labor councillors to maintain the closest contact with their constituents:

"Dim and pompous mystery is all right for those who want to hide what they are doing—or not doing," he commented. "The town halls belong to the people and the people have a right to know what their councils are about. Get people interested in what you are doing. Make sure that they understand why, and how. You will find that your work will run smoother and your successes will be strengthened by the cooperation of individual citizens and will come twice as fast."

An important application of these principles in the local field is reported by the National Association of Local Government Officers, whose advocacy of a vigorous public relations policy is well known. Typical of the trend is the decision of the urban district council of Urmston to appoint a public relations committee consisting of leading councillors, representatives of local organizations and the press, and certain interested citizens.

The committee will meet on the day following each council meeting and will disseminate—or if necessary elucidate—any matter considered suitable. Press conferences will be held at regular intervals with senior officers and the chairman and secretary of the public relations committee meeting with representatives of the press. At the conferences news of council decisions and of progress made in implementing them will be released. Committee minutes, too, are to be released to the press in a fuller form than hitherto.

Another favorable sign for the improvement of local government publicity is the enthusiastic collaboration of the Newspaper Society, the Institute of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists in the preparation of the NALGO report on this subject published earlier in the year.

The Institute of Journalists has given further support to a policy of publicity in a memorandum urging that local authorities should respect both the letter and the spirit of the admission of the press to meetings act 1908, which provides for public reporting of local authority meetings. According to the institute there is much diversity of practice, particularly about admission to committee meetings while some authorities restrict their business at full open council meetings to formalities which reveal little of the nature of the council's activities.

The institute would like to see legislation removing all hindrances to full publicity. It believes that the demand

for their local paper by men and women serving abroad is because of a real interest in what is happening in home towns, particularly in regard to administration and postwar planning. That demand should be met.

The press generally is willing to help. Over a hundred newspapers responded to a NALGO circular offering informative material about local government as part of a scheme to educate new electors in their civic responsibilities. Many papers accepted articles on the scope of local authority work; some followed these up by more detailed accounts of the particular activities of the municipal work in their own areas. The *Bedford Press*, for example, interviewed the chief officers of the borough council, wrote and published articles on their work, and subsequently published the series in pamphlet form.

Another branch of public relations is referred to in the Ministry of Health circular 197/45 advising local authorities to establish a permanent local information service comparable with that which proved so valuable during air raids.

"The minister feels," the circular reads, "that it would be a misfortune if the valuable experience gained were now to be lost, and he considers that an adequate information service should be built up and maintained by local authorities and should take the form of the provision in every area of an information center, to which inquirers seeking information on local government services could apply." Such service might well be based on an existing voluntary organization such as a citizens' advice bureau.

A. J. Mortimer, of the Brighton branch of NALGO, records the varied forms of public relations developed in that town. There are so many possibilities, he says, it is difficult to list them:

"Briefly, the aim is to make every local government officer public relations minded, every citizen local government conscious, and to obliterate apathy. A good start would be made by including the study of civics in the curriculum of all senior schools. In Brighton this is done in the senior section of one school and has proved most successful. The students run the class as a committee, the master being present only to offer advice if asked. There are visiting speakers drawn from the various departments of the local authority, local newspapers, large undertakings, and so on. The class has been running for a year, and I found its members efficient, businesslike, and ready and able to express their views far more lucidly than the average school child. Youth organizations and clubs enable public relations work to be done among adolescents, and the adult can be reached through Rotary clubs, women's guilds, and similar organizations."

LAURENCE WELSH, *Editor*
London Town

Japan Holds Local Elections

The Japanese, voting in local elections for the first time on April 5, 1947, elected approximately 11,000 officials including governors, mayors and village heads. This election was the first of four in April including parliamentary elections. Slightly more than 50 per cent of the voters turned out. A heavy vote was cast in the small towns where the head man controls the local economy.

Occupation authorities observed the elections and reported that no fraud or violence had occurred.

About as many women as men voted. This was the first time that Japanese women could vote.

The results of the election showed a trend toward the conservative Japanese parties and independent candidates of conservative outlook.

The home ministry, to bring out the electorate in parliamentary elections, recommended that local officials run fire trucks through the streets on election day to call attention to the polling, establish ration distribution centers at the polling places, and even distribute free motion picture tickets to voters.

Neighborhood Associations

The neighborhood association, one of the devices used to achieve and maintain centralized control during the war years, continues strong as an agency for the distribution of commodities and the official rationing system, according to a recent study.[1]

The neighborhood association consists of a number of levels. The lowest is the *tonari gumi,* composed of all households in an area, about ten to twenty. In rural areas a number of *tonari gumi* make up the *buraki-kai* (hamlet association) which is based upon traditional units of rural community government within the village. In urban areas the *buraki-kai's* counterpart is the *chonai-hai* which is under the direct supervision of village and town headmen and city mayors.

The neighborhood associations form a chain reaching from the central government to the householder, causing, it is claimed, a maldistribution of supplies which can be diverted to the black market at each level.

The people, dependent upon the officials for food, are unable to demand more democratic selection of leaders.

[1]"Neighborhood Associations in Japan," by John W. Masland. *Far Eastern Survey,* November 20, 1946.

Canadian Officials Plan Conference

The tenth annual conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities will be held in Winnipeg July 8 to 11. The general subjects to be discussed will include municipal finance, housing, town planning, unemployment relief and recreation, including war memorials.

Municipal Government Costs in Canada

A Tax Conference Report of the Citizens' Research Institute of Canada on the cost of municipal government from 1929 to 1943 reveals that per capita net expenditure by Canadian municipalities decreased consistently from 1929 to 1943 when there was an increase of 3.5 per cent over 1930.

Debenture debt decreases of 16.2 per cent since 1939 and 22.1 per cent since 1930 resulted in the reduction of debt charges but, the report warned, postponement of improvements during war years will mean an increase in debt and undoubtedly in taxation.

The report concludes that "a long term budget of capital improvements and estimated capital expenditures is a must for any municipality which desires to control the growth of its debt and its annual debt charges."

Puerto Rico Seeks Streamlined Government

Governor Jesus F. Piñero has asked the legislature of Puerto Rico for a reorganization of the government to prevent duplication and to promote economies. The governor also requested a five year hospital building program and construction of 400 new schools during 1947 and 1948.

Books in Review

Elements of Public Administration. Edited by Fritz Morstein Marx. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946. xxiv, 637 pp. $6.65.

This book, says its preface, is "a demonstration of teamwork." Its fourteen contributors are all "engaged in the practical business of public administration." Principal aim of the volume is "to deepen the reader's understanding of the administrative process as an integral phase of contemporary civilization. . . . Its focus is on the fundamental problems of public administration—the problems that assert themselves at countless points within the framework of governmental effort. Contributors are James W. Fesler, George A. Graham, V. O. Key, Jr., Avery Leiserson, Milton M. Mandell, Harvey C. Mansfield, John D. Millett, Fritz Morstein Marx, Don K. Price, Henry Reining, Jr., Wallace S. Sayre, Donald C. Stone, John A. Vieg, and Dwight Waldo.

The Future of Housing. By Charles Abrams. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1946. xix, 428 pp. $5.

This is a comprehensive and up-to-date study of the housing problem. Mr. Abrams, a pioneer in the movement for better housing, discusses the question of home ownership and home building, the operation of the real estate and construction industries as well as the conflict between government control and private interests. He offers a program for housing reform which should be of interest to those concerned in the solution of the housing problem.

A History of Local Government. By K. B. Smellie. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1946. 192 pp. $1.75.

This little book in its opening chapter covers the span of English local government up to 1832, describing in succeeding chapters its development down to this time. Chapters cover the making of the new structure and development of central control, 1832-1888; changes in area and functions and development of central control, 1888-1929; response to new conditions, structure and finance, 1929-1945. The last chapter is devoted to the "three Londons: city, county and greater London."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Education

General Education in a Free Society. Report of the Harvard Committee with an Introduction by James Bryant Conant. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1946. xix, 267 pp. $2.

Forestry

Forestry in the States. By Earl Snell, etc. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government,* April 1947. 30 pp. 50 cents.

Housing

How to Buy a House. By L. Douglas Meredith. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1947. 176 pp. $2.50.

Juvenile Delinquency

Report of the Legislative Commission to Investigate the Causes of Juvenile Delinquency. Trenton, New Jersey, The Commission, 1947. 45 pp.

Municipal Government

Improving the Government of Cumberland. A Report to the Mayor and Council of Cumberland, Maryland. By Joseph M. Ray. College Park, University of Maryland, 1947. 32 pp.

A Review of 1947 Legislation Affecting Cities. Olympia, Association of Washington Cities, 1947. 20 pp.

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Special Assessments

Bibliography on Special Assessments. By Herman Gerald Berkman. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1946. 25 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway, and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1946. By N. B. Gerry. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 12 pp.

Report of the Commission to Re-examine the Field of Governmental Operations, the Cost of Governmental Services, and the Tax Structure of the State to His Excellency, John O. Pastore, Governor of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Providence, The Commission, 1947. Variously paged.

Traffic Regulation and Safety

Motor Vehicle Driver Licensing. Recommended Principles of Driver Licensing in the Interest of Accident Prevention. Washington, D. C., American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, and New York City, National Conservation Bureau, 1947. 16 pp.

Report of Committee on Transit Operations. New Haven 11, Institute of Traffic Engineers, 1947. 16 pp.

A Uniform Enforcement Policy. A system for Providing Uniform Enforcement of Traffic Regulations. By Maxwell Halsey. Reprint from *American Journal of Police Science*, July-August 1946.

Utility Rates

Statement Presented to House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on H. R. 2185. (Matter of rate reductions under Natural Gas Act.) Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors and National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1947. 11 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 348)

The second letter, published April 14, was from George H. Hallett, Jr., of this department, secretary of the New York Citizens Union.

The letter points out that the number of Communists elected to the council was in no way disproportionate to the votes cast for such candidates and that P. R. assured other minorities, such as the Republican party, the fair representation which they did not obtain under the previous system, do not obtain now in the board of estimate under the old system and would not obtain on the proposed plan for election of councilmen by senate districts in mayoralty years. "In the last mayoralty year," the letter points out, "Mayor O'Dwyer carried every senate district in the city and in all but four of the 25 districts he received more votes than Goldsmith and Morris combined."

One paragraph of this letter was quoted by the *Boston Herald* on April 21 in an editorial entitled "In New York and Boston," supporting submission of P. R. and the manager plan to the Boston electorate:

> What bothers you, obviously, is that there are two Communists on the council, 8.7 per cent of the whole body, and we all know that no such percentage of the voters is actually Communist. The fact remains that these particular Communists amassed 138,498 votes, which is 8.2 per cent of the total valid vote cast for councilmen in the city. You couldn't get any closer to accuracy without cutting councilmen up into fractions.